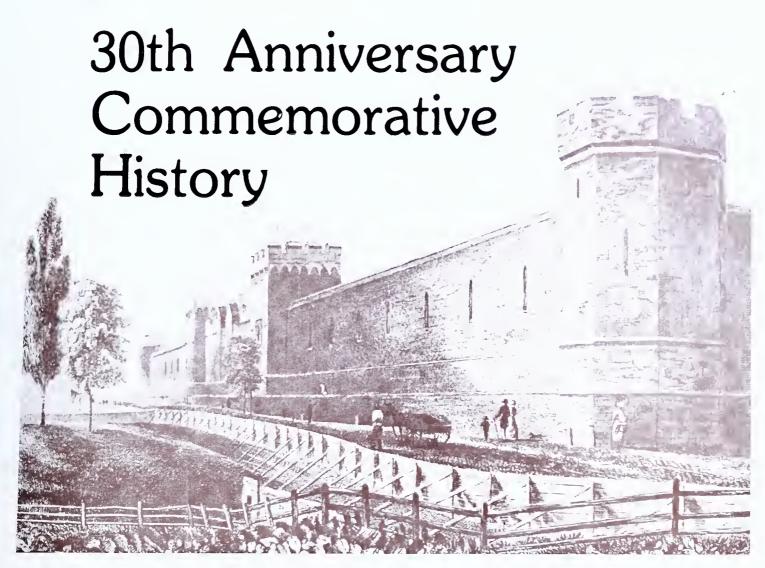
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Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Bureau of Correction



"The Queen of Penitentiaries", Eastern Penitentiary, Philadelphia, in 1852

# The Bureau of Correction and its Institutions



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## 30th Anniversary

Commemorative History:

## The Bureau of Correction and its Institutions



by

Judith R. Smith Pennsylvania Bureau of Correction

Publication design by Kenneth G. Robinson

Printed at SCI-Huntingdon April 1983



## Commonwealth of Pennsylvania



Dick Thornburgh Governor



William W. Scranton III Lieutenant Governor



Ronald J. Marks Commissioner



Erskind DeRamus Deputy Commissioner



ERSKIND DERAMUS

Deputy Commissioner

## PENNSYLVANIA BUREAU OF CORRECTION P. O. BOX 598 CAMP HILL, PENNSYLVANIA 17011 (717) 787-7480

April 29, 1983

Dear Citizen:

Pennsylvania takes great pride in its correctional history which dates back almost 300 years. We feel it is important to take the opportunity of the Bureau's 30th Anniversary to portray, to those in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, our record in corrections. This is our tribute to long years of effort and endeavor.

We think it is important to those in corrections, like other professions, to record events and to look back so that we view our successes as well as our mistakes and learn from both.

Through this publication, we hope you will have a better understanding of correctional history in Pennsylvania; particularly the thirty years that the Bureau of Correction has been part of state government.

Sincerely, Konald J. Marks

Ronald J. Marks
Commissioner



#### **FOREWORD**

I would like to thank Commissioner Ronald J. Marks who gave me this interesting assignment, and to express my appreciation to our Press Secretary Kenneth G. Robinson and our office secretary Linda Woods for their generous help. I would also like to extend appreciation to the superintendents and staffs of the various institutions; in particular to Ernest Patton, Superintendent of Camp Hill; to Louis Smith, former Executive Assistant to the Commissioner, and to John Manon who did a tremendous job of research at Graterford. I also want to thank the Bureau employes past and present for the information they so kindly provided by letter and conversation.

This history is really just a thumbnail sketch of what went on in Pennsylvania's rich and varied correctional history. It has been a pleasure to try to rekindle the spirit of those times.

Judith R. Smith



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#### Part I: The Establishment of the Bureau of Correction



On August 31, 1953, Governor John S. Fine signed into law legislation creating the Bureau of Correction. This action was taken as a result of the recommendations of the Devers Committee (so called after its Chairman, Major General Jacob L. Devers, USA, Retired) which had been called into being as a result of the largescale riots at Pittsburgh and Rockview in the winter of 1953.

The Devers Committee had been charged to "inquire and examine into the methods of instruction, discipline, detention, imprisonment, care and treatment of prisoners. You will inquire, too, into the government and management of prisons...and recommend needed changes if changes are found to be necessary."<sup>1</sup>

The state of our Commonwealth's prisons at the time the Devers committee began its work was not good. The five large adult institutions located at Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Rockview, Graterford, Huntingdon, along with the Pennsylvania Industrial School at White Hill for young offenders and Morganza youth institution were grouped together loosely under the Pennsylvania Department of Welfare and governed by Boards of Trustees.

By the years after World War II, prison systems across the nation were introuble. Many facilities were old; they were overcrowded, policies and programs were operated in obsolete and whimsical ways. Penologists knew that reforms should be introduced, but other items always seemed to have a higher priority.

In Pennsylvania, in 1944, knowing improvements were needed in the state prisons and that their capacities would be overtaxed by increasing numbers after the end of the war, Governor Edward Martin established the Ashe Commission. This committee, headed by nationally known penologist Stanley Ashe, was to study and make recommendations on the correctional system. Their recommendations, to be discussed later, focused on developing a

unified correctional system but were not acted upon by the legislature.<sup>2</sup>



Problems continued to fester and these came to a head not only in Pennsylvania but throughout the nation in the summer of 1952 and the winter of discontent that followed. In New Jersey, Arizona, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Michigan, Vancouver, New Mexico, Illinois, Ohio, Louisiana, Kentucky, Montreal and elsewhere, riots erupted.

#### **Trouble Ahead**

Pennsylvania's trouble began on November 30, 1952, when a group of inmates at the Western State Penitentiary at Pittsburgh made a temporarily successful escape. On January 6, 1953, nine inmates were indicted for the jailbreak in which they had overpowered five guards and cut a hole through the institutional roof. A state of smoldering passions existed at the institution.

Later, Warden John Claudy would say that Sunday, January 18, began normally enough.<sup>3</sup> The riot began just after dark when inmates seized six guards as hostages and set fire to the license tag factory. This was the signal and both big cellblocks broke into a state of anarchy.

Within minutes, six hundred Pittsburgh police were on the scene led by Superintendent James W. Slusser, along with the state police headed by Colonel C. M. Wilhelm. William C. Brown, the Secretary of Welfare, was notified as was Governor Fine who was in Washington attending President Eisenhower's inauguration.

Governor Fine sent a "tough" message saying the state would not negotiate with the rioters, and left immediate decisions to those on the scene. However, James F. Malone, Jr., District Attorney, who was also at the inauguration, returned to Pittsburgh and took charge of the situation.

In the early morning light of Monday, January 19, flames could be seen rising above the heavy stone walls of the riverside prison, while firemen tried under the worst of circumstances to put out the fire.

Contact had been established with the apparent head of the inmates but nothing was resolved. Late in the day, the police assembled for an assault, which was momentarily delayed by a phone call from the Governor. While Warden Claudy conferred with him, D.A. Malone seized the opportunity to meet with the inmates who agreed to surrender the hostages. This was done, and the first phase of the riot was over. The institution at Pittsburgh continued to have difficulty in achieving any kind of order for the rest of the week. Finally, on Friday, the state police were sent in and order was restored without incident. State Police Captain James F. Maroney was placed in charge of the institution.<sup>4</sup>

Just as the Pittsburgh riot was winding down, the Rockview riot started up, obviously in reaction to the events at Pittsburgh. On the evening of January 19th, 575 rioters at the new Western Penitentiary at Rockview, as it was then called, went into action. They overpowered six guards, releasing one, and taking the revolvers of all six men.

As the attention of the public and law enforcement

officials focused on Rockview, 40 state troopers and 70 correctional officers were poised to make a sweep of the institution. But without further trouble, the inmates surrendered.<sup>5</sup>

District Attorney Malone had promised the inmates of both institutions a full investigation into their grievances. Malone's investigation was superseded by the Devers Committee. The Devers Committee found that a state of overcrowding did exist, particularly at the two penitentiaries, and that there was indeed a whole spectrum of problems to be addressed.

any remarks of the accessible areas outside the congested boundaries of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh."

No Expansion

Until them, the committee said, the present prisons should be kept but not expanded any



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The committee adderroper classification are ment of prisoners to tions properly fitted care of them will not able until the new poult.

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"A new shipping repeated to the entag shop and plans be repared to rebuild the room and kitchen to the former and takery and kitchen as that feeting and plashed calinerials victurers dalinerial has become and remain a solution of the residual calinerial has become and remain as a compared remains on the residual calinerial has become and remains on."

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General Devers depicted in the Pittsburgh Press, November 25, 1954.

The Devers Committee listed as riot causes: (1) Inadequate financial support and public indifference; (2) The employment of sub-standard personnel; (3) Enforced idleness among the inmates; (4) A lack of professional leadership; (5) Excessive size and overcrowding of the institutions; (6) The political domination and motivation of management and (7) Unwise sentencing and parole procedures.<sup>6</sup>

Their major recommendations, twenty-eight in number, were directed to addressing these problems. First, they recommended physical alterations and improvements throughout the system. They recommended a new institution be built for defective delinquents (mentally deficient persons charged with crimes), and an expansion of institutional farms. They wanted improvements in personnel hiring and training; and, most of all, they wanted a separate Bureau of Correction.<sup>7</sup>

Recommendation fourteen said there should be a Bureau of Correction in the Department of Justice headed by a Commissioner, who should manage and control all phases of correctional activity; and, have a deputy commissioner for treatment and a deputy for operations to assist him, along with appropriate medical, educational and other supportive staff.

The fifteenth recommendation was that all correctional institutions in the Commonwealth should be integrated and operated as part of an overall plan. Recommendations sixteen and seventeen dealt with the establishment and use of two classification centers, one in the eastern part of the state and one in the west.

The Devers Committee found overall that the state had been guilty of "functional apathy" in being content with existing procedures.<sup>8</sup> At the time these recommendations were made, there were eight correctional institutions counting Morganza, with 8,599 inmates which was considered to be ninety percent of capacity. Morganza was soon closed.

The average salary of a correctional officer or guard, as they were called in those days, was \$238.33 per month.<sup>9</sup> Training was very limited.

The Devers Committee report caused quite a furor. Though he received the report in early April, Governor Fine did not make it public until after the May primary election, and when it did become public, Warden Claudy resigned in indignation and so did the state executioner.

Eighteen acts were passed in July and August of 1953 which embodied most of the Devers Committee recommendations. Chief among these was the establishment of the Bureau of Correction, and the mandate to establish classification centers in eastern and western Pennsylvania. These laws became effective on September 1, 1953. On August 31, 1953, Arthur T. Prasse became the first Commissioner of Correction for Pennsylvania.

#### The First Commissioner

Arthur T. Prasse, then 49 years of age, was Superintendent of the Industrial School at White Hill for boys. His salary was \$14,000 per year with \$2,400 maintenance monies extra.

Originally from Carnegie, near the city of Pittsburgh, he attended Slippery Rock State Teachers College, Thiel College and Penn State University. For 15 years, he had held



Arthur T. Prasse

supervisory posts at Morganza, and then became Superintendent of George Junior Republic at Grove City. He had been named Superintendent of the Camp Hill facility in 1950.<sup>10</sup>

Commissioner Prasse's first year was a busy one as he and the new Bureau strove to implement change in the correctional system.

One of the first things Prasse did upon becoming Commissioner was to establish a training school for correctional officers using the state police facility in Hershey. Within three years, the Bureau had its own training school located in the facility at Camp Hill. He tells of the experience of those days in his own words taken from the Bureau's First Annual Report, published in 1954:

The Bureau of Correction is a young organization — just a year old . . . A rich tradition has been inherited coupled with all the progressive innovations of contemporary penology: instructive labor, educational and moral training, congregation of inmates, classification, indefinite sentences, parole and commutation . . . A demoralized group of institutions and penal administrators was also inherited. The disastrous riots of 1953 were just about the last straw for a group of conscientious and loyal career



Dr. Kenneth Taylor

#### The First Year

Dr. Kenneth E. Taylor held the post of Deputy Commissioner for Treatment at the Bureau of Correction from 1953 to 1970. In a recent letter, he tells what it was like getting underway in the early days of the Bureau:

In the package creating the Bureau of Correction in the Department of Justice ... the legislature forgot to appropriate any money for space, equipment, personnel, etc. We had no choice for funds except to take a sum from the budgets of each of the existing institutions. This didn't endear us with the administrators.

In an effort to use wisely the meagre funds drawn from the institutions Mr. Prasse decided to keep his post as Superintendent at Camp Hill, to use the facilities of that institution for our headquarters, and to use a few of their clerical help. No staff personnel were available to augment those already at Pittsburgh, Rockview, Philadelphia, and Graterford, so the Diagnostic Centers and the independent prisons

were manned with an already inadequate staff. A fiscal officer was hired for the Bureau and a little later a Prison Industry Superintendent, which made up our initial cadre.

Equipment was equally in short supply. My first bookcases were used orange crates I got from a local produce stand and my first desk was taken from broken ones in the surplus pile at the capitol. There was no automotive equipment. For several months I helped organize the Diagnostic Center in Philadelphia and made a weekly one-day visit. In order to do so I arose at 4:30 A.M., took a bus to the train station in Harrisburg, rode to Philadelphia, then by subway and a ten minute walk to the institution. The procedure was reversed that night and I got home around 10 o'clock. A six-day work week was not unusual, with an aggregate of 60 to 80 hours per week . . .

Among the plusses was the cooperation we received from other state agencies, particularly the State Police and the Welfare Department, and the excellent support from the Governor and the Attorney General. Even though some departments used the "spoils system" we never had any interference from elected or appointed politicians in hiring personnel. There was no Civil Service coverage for anyone in the Bureau. Media coverage, voluntary on their part, was very fair . . .

workers who felt, whether rightfully or wrongly, that they had long been neglected by both the Public and by State Officials, restricted by obsolete laws and regulations and left groping in the dark by the lack of a coordinated modern program of penal administration.

He also spoke of three major tasks that had to be attacked immediately:

- 1. Establishing two Correctional Diagnostic and Classification Centers for properly and scientifically classifying each new admission, under the supervision of a Deputy Commissioner for Treatment, who also has the authority to make transfers between institutions.
- 2. Making autonomous administrative units of the two branch institutions of Eastern and Western Penitentiaries (Graterford and Rockview).
- 3. Consolidating the Bureau of Correction and its seven institutions into a vitalized and smoothly working team, with qualified personnel; a reduction in idleness among the inmates, and the elimination of overlapping and outmoded administrative structures and procedures. 12

By far and large it is generally agreed that Commissioner Prasse succeeded in doing all these things. He was able to develop a unified and cohesive system of corrections, but it took a few years. Even by 1956, there were still individual practices and policies remaining in some institutions. According to more than one Bureau veteran, the feudal tradition of separate and remote institutions under the sole authority of a warden died hard. 13

#### **Facilities**

In 1955, Governor George Leader formally abolished the remaining powers of the boards of trustees, which then devolved upon the Commissioner. All facilities were designated state correctional institutions, no longer penitentiaries or industrial schools, and all wardens became superintendents. Even in its nomenclature, Pennsylvania sought to stress the "corrective" approach.

The goals of the Bureau of Correction in the beginning were to strike a balance between a treatment program aimed at rehabilitation and humane custodial protection of society; to acknowledge that this is an ongoing process; to stress that good penal programs are dependent not so much on good facilities as on good people.



Superintendents and officials of the Bureau of Correction, 1957: STANDING, Arthur T. Prasse, Commissioner — John D. Pennington, Huntingdon David N. Myers, Graterford — William A. Banmiller, Philadelphia — Angelo C. Cavell, Pittsburgh — Louis Smith, Conference Clerk — Ernest S. Patton, Director, Western Diagnostic and Classification Center — John D. Shearer, Director, Eastern Diagnostic and Classification Center. SITTING: David P. Snare, Camp Hill — Frank C. Johnston, Rockview — Celia K. Wolfe, Muncy — Kenneth E. Taylor, Ph.D., Deputy Commissioner William M. Knuth, Director, Farms and Industries.

The total Bureau of Correction population in September 1954 was 6,911 which was considered 91.7 percent of capacity.14

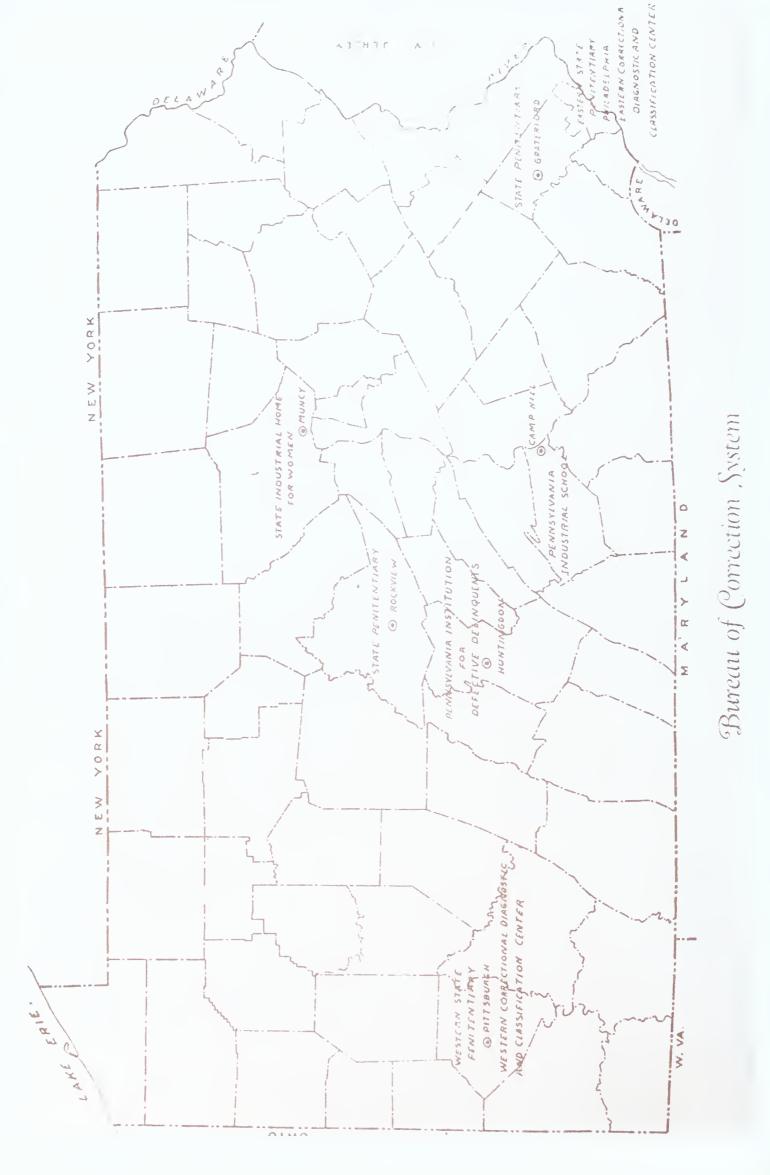
The inmate population was 57 percent white and just over 41 percent black; 15 percent were juveniles under the age of 18.15

Certainly, even from the beginning there was a lot to be desired in facilities. Pennsylvania's oldest institution, called the "Queen of Penitentiaries", was Eastern State Correctional Institutional at Philadelphia, which held 800 generally maximum security cases under Commissioner Prasse. The State Correctional Institution at Pittsburgh, formerly the Western Penitentiary, was nearing its 70th year of operation. It held 1000 serious, generally long term, offenders.

#### Institutions of the **Bureau of Correction**

Institutions of the Bureau of Correct 1953

Eastern State Penitentiary at Philade Western State Penitentiary at Pittsbuth The State Industrial School at Hunting The New Western Penitentiary at Route The State Industrial Home for Wome The New Eastern Penitentiary at Grant The State Industrial School at Campanage of the State Indu Eastern State Penitentiary at Philadelphia Western State Penitentiary at Pittsburgh The State Industrial School at Huntingdon The New Western Penitentiary at Rockview The State Industrial Home for Women at Muncy The New Eastern Penitentiary at Graterford The State Industrial School at Camp Hill





The State Correctional Institution at Dallas under construction.

Next came the State Industrial School at Huntingdon, which had begun life as an industrial reformatory in 1889, and was, in the 1950's, being used as the institution for defective delinquents. At this time, Huntingdon held less than 1000 inmates.

Rockview and Graterford, built in this century, were in somewhat better condition. They were used in the early years of the Bureau to hold medium and minimum security offenders from the western and eastern parts of the state, respectively. Rockview's population was less than 1000 and Graterford's was upwards of 1600. Muncy, the women's

institution, in Lycoming County, held all state women offenders.

The Bureau's newest institution was the State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill which held over 1000 young offenders, most of whom were juveniles.

The first state correctional institution under the new Bureau, Dallas, opened in 1960 at a cost of 14 million dollars. Inmates were transferred in several stages from Huntingdon beginning in September, 1959.



Referred to as the "Jackson State Institution" in this clipping heralding its opening, SCI Dallas is known even today as "Chase" by the local community.



The wooded environs of SCI Dallas top a high ridge in a remote part of Luzerne County.

Although located in Jackson Township in Luzerne County, the new prison became known as the State Correctional Institution at Dallas. According to the local newspaper, this upset some nearby Dallas citizens who weren't sure they wanted to be associated with a prison.<sup>16</sup>

The institution was dedicated on February 1, 1960 by Governor David L. Lawrence. On the platform with him was Governor John Fine, under whose administration plans for the prison were laid. From the outset Dallas provided jobs for 288 people with a payroll of \$1,150,000. Lacy, Atherton and Davis of Wilkes-Barre designed the facility. Frank C. Johnston, a former Pittsburgh educator, was the first institutional superintendent.<sup>17</sup>

Dallas was used to confine more than 800 "defective delinquents"; a legal situation which was challenged in 1965 by the American Civil Liberties Union. Despite the modern

programs including broad educational and vocational training simplified to meet the needs of the population, the concept of holding defective delinquents, some of whom had never been convicted of any crime, presented constitutional problems. The courts sided with the ACLU and in 1968 the law was formally repealed. Since that time Dallas has operated as a medium security institution for regular adult offenders.

#### **New Trends**

In the 1960's, along with other new trends in corrections, the concept of regionalization became popular. In 1968, the Commonwealth purchased the newly constructed Westmoreland County Jail, in southwestern Pennsylvania, and in 1969 it began operation as the State Regional Correctional Facility at Greensburg.



The State Regional Correctional Facility at Greensburg.

Designed to accommodate 200 adult male offenders, Greensburg has developed into an effective medium-minimum security facility, with an outstanding program of work release and job training.

Another achievement of the time was the establishment of a central office for the Bureau. The headquarters of the Bureau of Correction located outside the State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill was built entirely by inmate labor. It was completed and dedicated in April 1969 by Governor Raymond P. Shafer.



The Pennsylvania Bureau of Correction headquarters.

Throughout his tenure Commissioner Prasse was perceived in two ways at the same time. He was considered to be a progressive penologist who believed in modern programs and rehabilitation; he was also very much of the old school which believed in a strong central authority, or



Commissioner Allyn Sielaff

#### Allyn Sielaff

Allyn Sielaff began his correctional work in Pennsylvania as the first Deputy Commissioner for Operations in 1968. In this capacity, he completed the closing of Eastern State Penitentiary in 1970, an action recommended by earlier study committees.

He also was charged with getting the new community corrections program underway. Later on as Commissioner, he would move to seek additional legislation to open up the system.

By this time the inmate population had risen to over 7000 but was beginning to decline. The Bureau of Correction had two new institutions: the State Correctional Institution at Dallas and the State Regional Correctional Facility at Greensburg.

A lawyer and a penologist of liberal philosophy, he was appointed Commissioner by Attorney General Fred Speaker with the concurrence of Governor Raymond P. Shafer in 1970.

The legislation Sielaff sought and got from a bipartisan legislature consisted of temporary home furloughs for inmates, the establishment of work release, educational release and an expanded use of community facilities. Simultaneously, he revised many of the regulations governing the Bureau of Correction and in effect he humanized the methods of treatment of the offender.

No longer were inmates to be known as numbers, staff was to call them by name; no longer were inmates separated from their families by screens in the visiting room — contact visits were approved. Medical treatment was upgraded and a medical chief employed at the Bureau of Correction to coordinate this area. Plans were underway to establish a Department of Correction, and every correctional area hummed with new life and controversy.

Some of Commissioner Sielaff's changes were resented and the judiciary in part was known to take exception to the Bureau approach of releasing inmates into the community via furlough and the community centers.

In the years between 1970-1973, thousands of inmates were taking part in pre-release programs and, in 1972, a large number of inmates could not be accounted for. The reaction to this on the part of the rest of the law enforcement community was very negative, and for a while it looked as though the new programs might be lost entirely or substantially retracted. However, in 1973 a compromise was worked out with the legislature and the judges which allowed the furlough program and community treatment to continue, but under a tighter rein with cases submitted to the judge for approval prior to pre-release.

One basic change that came to corrections in those years was that no longer was corrections to be thought of as a system of institutions. It was to take in all other ways of dealing with the offender, and it was hoped that the prison population would continue to decline. Only the most serious and violent offenders would be institutionalized.

This did not happen because, even as the new programs were taking hold in modified forms, the rates of

criminal convictions began to grow and from 1973 onward the Bureau of Correction's inmate population continued to increase.

The thrust of Sielaff's efforts was to humanize the treatment of prisoners and to develop individualized treatment programs. A giant of a man at 6 feet, 4 inches, and 240 pounds, he stressed that 99 percent of inmates eventually will return to the community. "Our job," he said, "is to correct deficiencies, to rehabilitate and to finally integrate into society those whose futures have been delivered into our hands." It was a monumental and visionary task he set for himself and those who worked with him, and yet these were among the most exciting and challenging days of the Bureau of Correction.

When he left Pennsylvania in mid 1973 to take over as Illinois chief of corrections, his place was taken by Stewart Werner, a man who shared his vision and philosophy.

#### Stewart Werner

Commissioner Werner, who had served as deputy commissioner under Sielaff, was in office for just less than two years. One of his major achievements was to negotiate an agreement with the Pennsylvania Department of Education to expand and improve the educational and vocational courses offered to inmates. Since the time, in 1974, that Werner made the compact, education in state correctional institutions has increased fourfold.

Formerly, a small number of basic education classes was being provided at each facility. Under Werner, these were expanded to include classes that range from remedial and learning center basics to college education and beyond.

As part of his policy to "open up the system", Sielaff frequently met with press and public. He is shown here (second from left) at SCI-Rockview.



### IEAA DLKC

#### Commissioner Werner

was formally appointed Commissioner of Correction up or July 21. P. D. He had been acting commissioner

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Commissioner Stewart Werner

The emphasis has been and remains on basic academic and vocational education with the attainment of a high school diploma the goal for most inmates.

Werner is also credited with negotiating a compromise with the judges of the Commonwealth which made the furlough and pre-release programs much more acceptable to them by giving them a voice in placements beforehand. Werner also eliminated "out residency", a very liberal extension of pre-release, which permitted selected inmates to complete their sentences at home.

Werner tried but was unsuccessful in securing needed new facilities; however, the plans for the regional facility at Mercer were developed during this time. He further developed staff training and increased the Bureau's contact with outside schools and universities. He established the Citizens Advisory Committee to bring the community into the correctional decision making process.

Another change that the Bureau witnessed was the discontinuance of juvenile placement in Camp Hill, which took effect on August 15, 1975 by order of Attorney General Robert P. Kane.

Werner left the Bureau of Correction in mid 1975 to be replaced by Commissioner William B. Robinson of Pittsburgh.



Commissioner Werner expanded inmate education.

#### **Bill Robinson**

In August, 1975, Attorney General Robert P. Kane, with the approval of Governor Milton Shapp, appointed William B. Robinson Commissioner of Correction. He came to a system which was rapidly growing not only in commitments but in budget and programs as well.

One of the first things Commissioner Robinson did was to complete the erection of a new regional correctional facility at Mercer in Mercer County, ninety miles north of Pittsburgh. Mercer opened September 8, 1978. It was designed to hold offenders having short terms, two to five year sentences, from a sixteen county area in northwestern Pennsylvania.

The entire staff of the State Regional Correctional Facility at Mercer was trained in mass at the Bureau's Central Training Academy located at Camp Hill.

Mercer, which consists of independent clusters of buildings, has become known throughout the state for its



Commissioner William B. Robinson

modern community-related programming and general efficiency. Today, like the Bureau's other facilities, Mercer is a crowded institution holding 274 inmates in space designed for 180.

Over the years, the Bureau had been broadened in authority and responsibility, taking over the inspection of all county and local jails in 1956. In 1965, the Bureau's inmate population had increased to 8000 and then it began to decline, reaching, in 1972, a low point of 6000. However, the next year commitments began to rise and steadily increased at a rate of about five percent a year. By the time William B. Robinson became Commissioner, the Bureau had 7,248 inmates and was still on the increase.<sup>19</sup>

The budget of fiscal year 1975-76 was \$57,140,000 and there were 2,618 employes. Three training academies were in existence, located at Greensburg in western Pennsylvania, Camp Hill in central Pennsylvania, and Dallas for eastern Pennsylvania.

Correctional Industries now operated 24 manufacturing plants, three food processing centers, six farms and a freight and data processing operation; these industries employed about 1300 inmates.

Pre-release programs, including furloughs and work release continued to operate successfully. By the end of 1975, more than 500 inmates had successfully completed work release programs and were gainfully employed outside of prison. Also, by the end of 1975, 7,048 inmates had successfully participated in 23,561 furloughs.<sup>20</sup>

In terms of community treatment, now called community service centers, the Bureau was operating four centers in Philadelphia, three in Pittsburgh, two in Erie and one each in Scranton, Allentown, Johnstown, York, Harrisburg and Sharon. There were 495 admissions in 1976.<sup>21</sup>

By the end of 1976, staff had increased to 2,700 and the inmate population to 7,655 offenders.<sup>22</sup>

Between 1972 and the end of 1976, correctional industries sales had increased from \$6,474,605 to \$11,063,327. More than 1600 inmates were being furloughed annually with a 2.6 percent failure rate which would soon improve to a .8 percent rate. Soon, Commissioner



The State Regional Correctional Facility at Mercer.



Prior to opening Mercer the Bureau took the opportunity to train the entire staff together as a team.



A former county warden himself, Commissioner Robinson, seen here dedicating a county jail, emphasized county-state intercooperation.

Robinson, with his high priority sports program, had many inmates participating in softball, football, basketball, boxing, and in a variety of intramural sports. In 1976, 2,719 county and state correctional employes received training from the Bureau's academies.<sup>23</sup>

By the end of 1977, Commissioner Robinson could point with pride to major accomplishments such as the complete reorganization of correctional industries; the consolidation of six diagnostic and classification centers to three; an increase of 20 percent in the number of inmates enrolled in training and education programs; and a highly successful athletic program that included, in 1977, bringing famed boxer Muhammed Ali into our midst. Other accomplishments were the restructuring of community services, the establishment of an inmate construction cadre and the building of a Muslim mosque at SCI Graterford.<sup>24</sup>

In 1977, the Bureau employe complement rose to 3,025 and during fiscal year 1976-77, the budget increased to \$71,525,000. This year also saw the beginnings of the statewide job placement program for inmates operated jointly by the Department of Education and the Bureau of Correction. Simultaneously, 2,500 inmates were enrolled in classes.

Although this was a good year for the Bureau in terms of improved organization and efficiency, problems were on the horizon particularly in the area of overcrowding.

By 1978, the Bureau's population was 8,100 and several of the institutions were so old that they needed massive renovation and new construction. With the inmate population continuing to rise it became just a matter of months until the Bureau's capacity would be reached. Additionally, the problems posed by mentally ill and disturbed inmates became a more serious problem as facilities began to get crowded.<sup>25</sup>

Coupled with these difficulties the Bureau of Correction like the rest of Pennsylvania faced the near tragedy of 1979 with the nuclear emergency at Three Mile Island. Plans were developed, but not implemented, to safely evacuate over 1000 inmates at the Camp Hill institution.

Having survived that crisis, the Bureau of Correction went on to host the 109th Congress of the American Correctional Association in Philadelphia in August of that year.

The profile that emerges in 1979 is of an agency on the move.

#### **More Growth**

By December of 1979, the inmate population was 8,188; the budget for fiscal year 1978-79 had risen to \$81,200,648 in state money. Personnel costs for a complement of 3,129 employes was in excess of 60 million dollars. Of these employes, 70 percent were civil service positions, and 1,558 employes were correctional officers.<sup>26</sup>

For 1979, the Bureau pointed with pride to 803 holiday furloughs which turned in a success rate of 100 percent.<sup>27</sup> The Bureau was saddened this year, as it had been in 1977 when correctional food service instructor Edward R. Boyer was killed by an inmate. This time, it was Captain Felix Mokychic who was murdered at Graterford on March 20th.

The next year was to bring change to the Bureau of Correction even as changes were being brought to other states across the nation. The previous years had seen the strong involvement of the courts in corrections and a strong trend toward the liberalization of policies for offenders. Now the tide reversed itself and many more people were going to jail and going for a longer period of time. This in turn put pressure on prison systems and led, in many states, to serious overcrowding. Such factors would have a great impact on the Bureau of Correction and Pennsylvania's state and county correctional systems before long.

Concurrent with these changes, Pennsylvania had a new Commissioner of Correction, Ronald J. Marks, a lifetime corrections man who had worked in Pennsylvania's correctional system for twenty-six years.



Commissioner Ronald J. Marks

#### The New Commissioner

Appointed in June of 1980 by Attorney General Harvey Bartle III, as approved by Governor Dick Thornburgh, Commissioner Marks came to a system facing unprecedented challenge.

The Bureau of Correction has come a long way since it was established thirty years ago, yet in basic ways it has remained true to its original mandate to protect society through the secure and humane treatment and confinement of offenders.

Its population has nearly doubled, and its budget and responsibilities - have more than quadrupled. Its programs are more sophisticated, and in fact the Pennsylvania Bureau of Correction is recognized among the most progressive correctional systems in the nation. Successful in maintaining one of the lowest escape rates in the country, the Bureau is among the top ten states in programs offered to inmates, staff training, salaries and career opportunities for qualified staff.

Its history has been one of evolution not revolution and the result has been a stable system that has always been able to rise to the occasion when major problems were at hand.

In one of its most severe tests, a failed escape attempt in 1981 resulted in a hostage crisis at Graterford, from which the Bureau was able to emerge with all personnel safe and its credibility intact. In actuality, the very fact of the Bureau's credibility in dealing with staff and inmates was one major reason why the situation was resolved successfully and peacefully.



Erskind DeRamus, right, who has served as deputy under three commissioners, works closely with Commissioner Marks.

The Bureau is a modern system operating in a modern world where old truths and well thought out innovations work side by side to produce an effective administration. The scope of its responsibilities and the size of its mission require the best in human skills and the best in technology.

But, it wasn't always like that. Predicating that an understanding of the future depends in part on understanding the past, one can feel that Pennsylvania's long tradition in corrections is worth a closer look on this our thirtieth anniversary.

#### Part II: Yesterday

It all began with Patrick Robinson's little brick house in Philadelphia, one side of which became the first jail in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Actually, Pennsylvania's correctional system began with William Penn himself.

William Penn sought to build a colony that would be a haven of peace, freedom and justice for all. In his great law of 1682, torture and mutilation were discarded as punishment for crimes, and all crimes of violence were to be punished by hard labor in houses of correction. A system of fines as well as confinement was introduced. Yet it was a firm system of justice, with life imprisonment being the penalty for the second offense of serious crime.<sup>1</sup>

There was definitely a need for criminal justice in Penn's new colony for many of its first citizens were indentured servants and felons exported from England. In May, 1697, Penn wrote to the Colonial Council from London concerning difficulties in Pennsylvania that there was "no place more overrun with wickedness, Sins so very Scandalous openly Committed in defiance of Law and Virtue; facts so foul I am forbid by common modesty to relate them . . ."<sup>2</sup>

In 1698, Pennsylvania was called "Ye greatest refuge and shelter for pirates and rogues in America."<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, the colony kept to its humane and enlightened criminal code with some changes until 1718. The year Penn died, the Quaker Code which provided the death penalty only for premeditated murder was replaced by the harsh English, Newcastle Code with its long list of capital crimes. Only larceny, among felonies, was not a capital crime. A variety of physical punishments was also introduced — whipping, branding, and mutilation among them.<sup>4</sup>

In 1695, the Quaker colony had erected a brick jail on High Street, but by 1702, it was overcrowded and declared a common nuisance. In 1723, a new stone prison was built on High Street but it, too, soon became overcrowded.<sup>5</sup>

The Philadelphia jail had gone the way of its many predecessors: an overcrowded place of congregate living without separation by age, sex, or type of crime. The innocent were held along with the convicted, and only those with enough money could purchase sufficient food. Into this atmosphere before the American Revolution stepped Richard Wistar, Dr. Samuel Rush, and others who were interested in alleviating the miseries of public prisons. They brought food and clothing to the inmates and urged the establishment of a new prison facility.

Just before the war began in 1773, the Walnut Street Jail was completed. Its success was shortlived: the British took it over and used it to house American prisoners of war; then the Americans recaptured Philadelphia and used it to house British prisoners of war. Finally, by the acts of 1789 and 1790, it was made to serve as a joint county and state institution, with new cells to be created for separate and



William Penn, the Commonwealth's great founder, sought to establish a haven of justice.



The Walnut Street Jail, site of the first attempt at solitary cell construction.

solitary confinement. This was something that the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons\* had been working for since its formation in 1787.6

This was the first attempt to establish a penitentiary in the United States, if not the world. The cells constructed in the Walnut Street Jail, pursuant to the law of 1790, were built as individual outside cells with a central corridor.

This was not exactly what the Prison Society had in mind. They were greatly influenced by Quaker thought and philosophy, as well as by the work of English penal reformer John Howard. They sought to develop a prison system in Pennsylvania which would be based on solitary confinement and labor with instruction in labor, in morals, and in religion. Work was not merely to be for punishment, but to be used as an agent of reform. It was thought that solitary living and solitary work would contribute to repentance. This approach became known as the Pennsylvania system.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Hereafter referred to as the Pennsylvania Prison Society.

These values may sound very naive, but the important part of this philosophical approach was that no longer was punishment to exist for its own sake, but somehow must be made to servbe the higher purpose of reform.

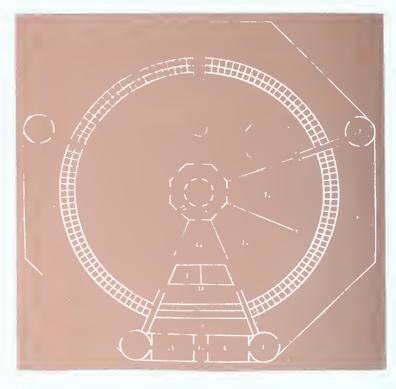
By 1800, the Walnut Street Jail had again become overcrowded and shortly thereafter, the Pennsylvania Prison Society began its strong campaign to have the Commonwealth establish a penitentiary. The results were both original and interesting.

At this time in history the American settlers were just beginning their westward trek across the Ohio; the industrial revolution was just beginning in England, and the armies of Napoleon dominated most of Europe. Into this period of change and movement came the Pennsylvania prison reformers determined to improve the criminal justice system.

#### The Queen of Penitentiaries and Her Predecessor

The most famous penitentiary in penal history belonged to Pennsylvania: Eastern State Penitentiary which opened at Cherry Hill in Philadelphia in October, 1829. However, this was not the first American penitentiary. That distinction belongs to the first Western State Penitentiary which opened in Pittsburgh in 1826.

It happened in this way. On February 13, 1817, some inhabitants from Western Pennsylvania came to the General Assembly, supported by the Philadelphia Prison Society, "praying for the erection of a penitentiary in the Western part of the State." An act mandating this (and "allowing" for the creation of a penitentiary in Eastern Pennsylvania) was passed March 3, 1818 and \$60,000 allocated for that purpose.





The design for the panopticon at Pittsburgh.

The first prison in the west had been a log cabin near Brownsville in Fayette County. Soon Western Pennsylvania was to have a massive stone fortress designed by William Strickland.



The site of the "Queen of Penitentiaries" was a 10 acre tract of land at Cherry Hill.

It was built in the style of the panopticon — an English design utilizing stacked tiers of single cells arranged in circular fashion around a central observation post. Stone walls and doors of iron graced the outer octagonal structure. Opened in July of 1826, its cost was \$178,206.85.

This prison was by no means a successful penitentiary. Its cells were too small and faced inward without adequate light and air. Solitary work was an impossibility.

At last, John Patterson, the warden, wrote to Governor George Wolfe asking that the Western Penitentiary be torn down and rebuilt. On February 27, 1833, Governor Wolfe signed the demolition act, and by March 30th of the same year, John Haviland was engaged to rebuild the institution.<sup>10</sup>

In 1836, Warden Armstead Beckman commented on the steady progress of the project and mentioned he was finding employment for inmates.

The first cells at Western had been only 9 feet by 6 feet with slits in the wall for light. The cells designed by Haviland were 11 feet, 10 inches high; 15 feet long, and 7 feet, 10 inches wide. The place had greatly improved but still resembled a chateau fortress.

During these years when Western was being built and rebuilt, the world's greatest penitentiary was being designed and built by John Haviland in Philadelphia. Haviland was paid \$2,000 annually plus expenses, which was a very good salary, to build Eastern Penitentiary. Eastern Penitentiary was to be the first true penitentiary built anywhere. As such, it became the model for the world.

The site of the Queen of Penitentiaries was a 10 acre tract of land purchased from a family named Waurer for \$11,500. It was located at Cherry Hill, a spot named for its groves of cherry trees, outside of Philadelphia.

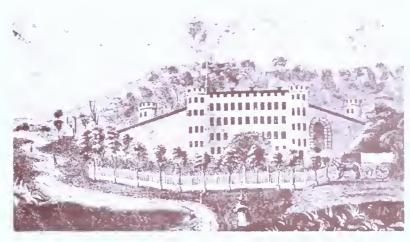
In April, 1821, the builders for Eastern had at their disposal \$150,000: \$100,000 from the Commonwealth and \$50,000 from the city of Philadelphia. One story alleges that the president of the commissioners charged with building the penitentiary made away with the first \$20,000 draft from the state, which later reappeared mysteriously.<sup>11</sup>

Even as the citizens of Philadelphia set about building Eastern, there was a large scale breakout at the Walnut Street Jail on March 11, 1823. Mayor Wharton and the city took arms and soon most, if not all, of the prisoners were recaptured. 12

In a sense the reformers had failed with Western. Even after the Haviland reconstruction it never functioned adequately as a penitentiary. The Philadelphia Prison Society was determined not to fail with Eastern. They had it written into law that it was to be built upon the principle of solitary confinement.

Haviland built Eastern as a grey, stone fortress surrounded by a high, thick wall with seven blocks radiating out from the center. Eastern was first designed to hold 250 inmates. It would be in use for 140 years until 1970.





"The place had greatly improved but still resembled a chateau fortress."



Richard Vaux: Eastern's most faithful defender.

This was a landmark prison which influenced, not only designs for penal construction in Rhode Island, New Jersey, and certain other states, but also the countries of England, Belgium, Sweden, Hungary, France, Prussia, Denmark, Norway, and Holland. Its influence in design spread so far as China. 13

Eastern Penitentiary opened October 25, 1829, and by

January, 1830, had 9 inmates. The first warden was Samuet R. Woods, a member of the prison society and a strong believer in its philosophy.

By the Spring of 1834, the warden and the inspectors were under investigation for (1) misapplication of public property; (2) cruel and unusual treatment of prisoners; (3) the indulgence of irregularities and immoralities, and (4) violation of the separate work ethic. It seems Seneca Plumly had been given the water treatment until he became incurably insane and Matthias Maccumsey had died through use of an iron gag, a metal enclosure that fit around the face and in the mouth.<sup>14</sup>

Eastern survived this first attack as it would survive others. Perhaps the most irritating criticism of its philosophy and operation came from Louis Dwight, Secretary of the Boston Discipline Society who spent a large part of the 19th century attacking Eastern and its solitary mode. The charge that Eastern Penitentiary with its solitary system drove men mad cast a shadow on the Pennsylvania system, despite the constant defense of Richard Vaux and other supporters of the Philadelphia Prison. Vaux was, for many years, head of the board of inspectors at the penitentiary, and also chief historian of the institution.

As for Western, despite additions, renovation, and reconstruction, it was never much of a success as a solitary confinement prison. Its inspectors and personnel strongly welcomed the law of 1869 which permitted congregate labor.

The 19th century is often called the age of institutions and with good reasons. The emergence of the state and with it "state" services, such as hospitals, schools, and asylums, is a noticeable attribute of the Victorian period. Penology was evolving too. At about the time the penitentiary system was being developed in Pennsylvania, New York state had developed the Auburn system, using congregate labor of inmates. Inside cells, built in high tiers, with an outside corridor were features of this approach.



"Eastern penitentiary, a design frequently referred to as the "wagon wheel"

Early forms of parole and earned merits toward release were introduced by Captain Alexander Maconochie in 1840 on the Norfolk Penal Colony and in 1853, into the Irish Prison System by Walter Crofton. These developments, along with the separation of inmates by age, sex, and type of crime, led to the beginnings of reform schools for young offenders.

#### The Penitentiary at Riverside

Meanwhile a new Western Penitentiary was being built, a few miles from the old prison, along the Ohio River in Pittsburgh. In fact, it was the site of the former House of Refuge, a children's institution, which had been moved because the area known as Riverside was unhealthy. It was a site convenient for the trustees to visit and it was apparently cheap.

One hundred thousand dollars was appropriated to build the institution in 1878, and E. M. Butz was selected as the architect.

The new prison with a frontage of 1,025 feet faced the Ohio river. It had a rotunda with two massive cellblocks, one on each side. The north wing, a 640 man five tiered cellblock, was opened in 1882.

It was said of it "the structure is as permanent as the hills".

The south wing was completed in 1892, and 40 cells for women were provided in one of the remodeled House of Refuge buildings. This was the first prison to have running water, electric lights and gang locks. It had grown to be the most expensive prison in America. Between 1878 and 1893, one million, nine hundred and twelve thousand dollars was spent. <sup>15</sup>

High water in the Spring was a constant menace to the new penitentiary and, in the twentieth century alone, it has been flooded four times.



Flooded four times since 1900, this photograph at Western shown the effect of the flood of March, 1936.



"It was said of it, 'the structure is as permanent as the hills'."

Shoemaking was the most important industry there until 1887. The making of cocoa mats, hosiery and brooms was pursued into the 20th century, and since the 1930's Western Penitentiary has had a diversified industrial program.<sup>16</sup>

This penitentiary known today as the State Correctional Institution at Pittsburgh is still in operation. It is in the

process of a twenty million dollar total renovation.

By the mid 1880's, Pennsylvania's two penitentiaries were filled to capacity and a new institution was needed. The legislature finally decided to build one along the lines of the Elmira reformatory in New York State, as provided for in the Act of June 8, 1881.

The State Correctional Institution at Pittsburgh, c. 1970.





#### The Reformatory at Huntingdon

A seven-man committee, under the chairmanship of Charles Thompson of Philadelphia, was named to choose the site. They chose property on the banks of the Juniata River opposite the town of Huntingdon: Thirty-nine acres costing \$12,036 and the town of Huntingdon paid \$10,000. Wilson Brothers, architects of Philadelphia, were employed to design the facility and an initial state appropriation of \$100,000 was given for construction.<sup>17</sup>

An interesting observation of the times is that approximately 50 percent of Pennsylvania inmates were recidivists, and 31 inmates were women. The inmates wore brown cloth, not stripes as in many states. The state paid the personnel costs and correctional officers, who were then called overseers, earned between \$900 and \$1,200 annually. Counties paid for inmate upkeep. In the 1880's, this averaged 20¢ per day. Inmates, upon release, were given \$5 in discharge money and \$10 if they lived more than 50 miles away. 18



The legislature appropriated funds for this blacksmith's shop at Huntingdon.



Inmates at Huntingdon in the brick and stone masonry department, 1929.

By 1887, Eastern Penitentiary held 1,096 inmates and had 49 overseers; Western Penitentiary held 686 inmates and had 59 overseers. One hundred and seventy-nine inmates were punished by handcuffing, the use of leg irons and the punishment cell during that year. Such was the state correctional system when Huntingdon prison was being built.

The Board of Managers of Huntingdon attended the National Prison Conference in July, 1888. They thereupon hired R. W. McClaughry, then warden of the Illinois State Prison, to become the General Superintendent. His philosophy of penology agreed with that of Richard Vaux and he quoted him, saying, "The causes of crime originate in depravity, latent or positive. The weaknesses of human character are unable to resist the influences that develop this depravity in its various phases. The forms it exhibits largely depend upon heredity . . . Punishment, if either preventive or corrective, should be applied to weaken, modify, remove or destroy the vitality of generating germs of crime." 19

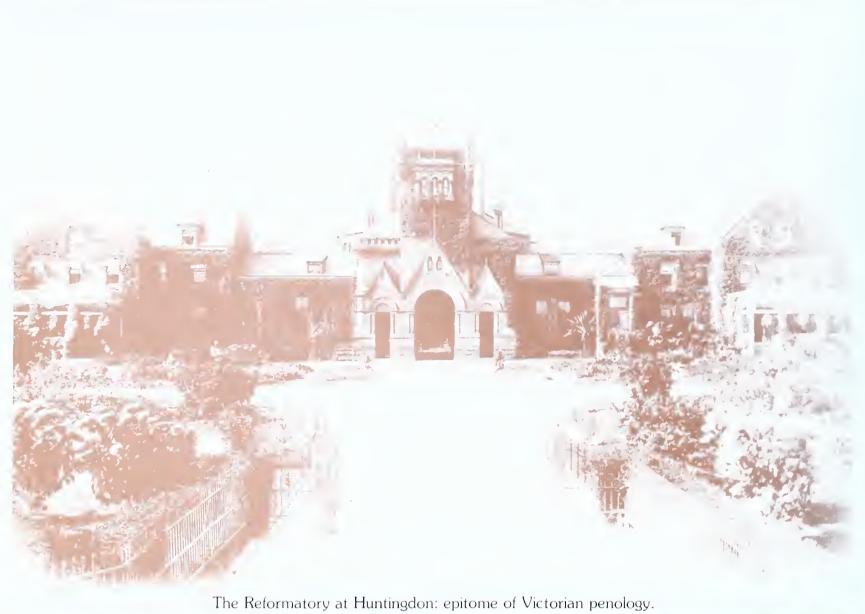
Huntingdon was to be more than a place for punishment, it was to correct behavior. Its founders considered

this a noble work of rescue.

The law provided that it was being built for the "reformation of prisoners confined herein" and the courts "may sentence to the said Reformatory any male criminal between the ages of 15 and 25 years, not known to have been previously sentenced to a state prison in this or any other state."<sup>20</sup>

When completed, the facility was of brick, with administrative offices within the walls that enclosed 10 acres. The institution had 4 cellblocks, with 3 tiers, radiating from a control center. Industrial shops were in the rear. It had a 663 acre farm with fireproof buildings (soon to be tested) and a forestry camp.<sup>21</sup>

The institution was to open January 1, 1889, but this was delayed because of a clerical oversight. They forgot to order food and provisions. After finally opening in February, things got off to a rough start with General Superintendent McClaughry complaining that the "courts send House of Refuge incorrigibles, vagrants, feebleminded, disturbers of the peace and here and there an old offender."





Correctional staff at Huntingdon, c. 1900.

A graded program was established whereby an inmate could earn his way to freedom, and this program was followed until the mid-twentieth century. The difficulties of implementation must have been many because Mc-Claughry quit in less than two years; he was replaced as General Superintendent by T. B. Patton who loved the institution and stayed from 1891 until his death in December, 1922.

Huntingdon had been built to be an industrial reformatory to house young men "in such a way as to admit of their classification, and their instruction and employment in useful labor," with the legislature appropriating \$5,000 for tools, lumber, leather, iron, and cloth to be used in the tailor shop, shoe shop, blacksmith shop, brush shop and on the farm.<sup>22</sup>

Things did not always go well. In the summer of 1889, the region was hit by heavy flooding, followed in the next year by a long draught. Near catastrophe occurred on Sunday, August 14, 1892, when fire broke out in the brush shop. There was insufficient water to fight the fire so the building containing the repair shop, which also housed the carpentry shop, paint shop, drill room, and tin shop also went up in flames.<sup>23</sup>

Undeterred, Superintendent Patton and a supportive community built the institution up again. Two hundred eighty-eight more cells were added with 12 isolation cells in a separate building. Nine classrooms were furnished and a majority of teachers were hired as guards.

A program was set that would remain basically unchanged for three quarters of a century. Huntingdon endured not only through philosophical and penological changes in the years ahead, but through three typhoid epidemics in the 1890's that cost the lives of several inmates and staff members each time it struck.

From the years 1889 through 1900, Huntingdon admitted 3,379 youthful offenders and released 2,920. In 1900, there were 451 inmates, a reduction of 118. This was attributed by Superintendent Patton to the prosperous economic times the state and the nation were experiencing.<sup>24</sup>

Huntingdon was like a city within a city or, more apropos, like a medieval castle and village which were self-sustaining, a world in itself. This is very much the way American corrections was at the turn of the century and well into the 1900's.

#### Rockview — The New Western

Prior to World War I, Warden John Francies' exposure of the overcrowded conditions and the unhealthy environment at Western Penitentiary led to legislation for the development of a rural penitentiary. A special committee surveyed 33 sites before choosing 4,300 acres in Centre County which were purchased at \$50 an acre. Additional acreage was obtained from adjacent state forest land.<sup>25</sup>

Located 6 miles south of Bellefonte and 6 miles northeast of State College, this new prison had been originally conceived in 1878, when Huntingdon had been decided upon but the enabling legislation was not passed until 1911. The State Correctional Institution at Rockview was originally intended to be a maximum security prison to replace Western Penitentiary. The expense was not to exceed \$1,250,000 and \$300,000 was provided for planning purposes. The original law signed by Governor John K. Tener in 1911 provided that:

Whereas is appears that the Western Penitentiary is greatly overcrowded as well as otherwise inadequate . . . and so unsanitary that numerous cases of tuberculosis exist among the prisoners confined therein, as a direct result of their imprisonment . . . that for lack of a large tract of land opportunant, it is impossible . . . to keep the inmates sufficiently employed, by reason thereof a large number thereof became insane and become permanent charges upon the State; and the said penitentiary is located in a congested city district where it is impossible to extend the buildings and prison yard thereof at any reasonable cost . . . It is desirable (that the new prison) be of modern design and so constructed in a rural district, so that the prisoners may be provided with useful employment in tilling the soil or otherwise.<sup>26</sup>

The General Assembly changed its mind and the legislation was passed in 1915 to provide that the new institution be a maximum security prison designed to take the place of both Eastern and Western Penitentiaries.



This architect's drawing depicts the original plan for SCI Rockview.





This did not come to pass, however, although the first cellblock at Rockview was built for maximum security purposes. Under Governor Gifford Pinchot, in the 1920's, the plans were changed to provide that Rockview would become a medium security institution operated as a branch or farm prison by the Western Penitentiary. Its capacity was 1,012 with 500 maximum and 512 medium-minimum security cells. Some cells cost as much as \$4,000, a high figure for that time. The overall cost was \$5,823,612.<sup>27</sup>

Total acreage was finally set at 6,790 with 1,804 reserved for field and garden crops. Inmates constructed the institution and the first inmate arrived there in 1912. The first acting warden, under the supervision of the warden of Western Penitentiary, was James W. Herron, Pittsburgh engineer, who later became the superintendent of Huntingdon.

Rockview is also the site of the administration of the death penalty, again reintroduced to Pennsylvania in 1978. The electrocution-deputy warden building was completed in December 1914, and the first execution took place on February 23, 1915. To date, the Commonwealth has executed 350 persons by means of electrocution.<sup>28</sup>

#### A Place for Women

Muncy was established by the Act of July 25, 1913. This provided for the creation of a State Industrial Home for Women, ages 16 to 30, with indeterminate sentences,<sup>29</sup> meaning no minimum sentence specified. The idea of a state prison for women was put forth strongly by the Pennsylvania Prison Society and the Philadelphia Junior League. Prior to this, women offenders were held in special sections of Eastern and Western penitentiaries. The law, under reform Governor Gifford Pinchot, was changed in 1925 to



Muncy women canning vegetables, 1924.

permit Muncy to hold all state women offenders regardless of age.

What today is the State Correctional Institution at Muncy opened with three admissions on October 28, 1920. The first superintendent was Mrs. Amy Everall who stayed four months; she was replaced by Dr. Margaret H. Bynon, a medical doctor from Allentown who lasted 28 days. She was replaced by Mrs. Anna Cheyney as acting superintendent who was actually at her post when the first inmates arrived.



Tener Cottage at Muncy, as it was in 1924.

The buildings at Muncy are large fieldstone cottages and each was named for a benefactor or a county represented at the institution, 11 cottages in all. The first were Sproul and Sones Cottages, operative in 1920. Sproul Cottage, originally called Ebner Cottage for the former owners of the property, was named for William G. Sproul; Sones Cottage was named for Senator Charles Sones who was then on the Muncy Board of Managers. Kift Cottage, renamed Tener Cottage for Governor John Tener, was opened on February 28, 1921, and more cottages followed.

The institution was designed by Horace Trumbauer, the architect responsible for the Museum of Art in Philadelphia, to hold 390 inmates. The original purchases of property for Muncy totaled 566 acres, the land grew to 798 acres by 1969. Included were 325 tillable acres on which Muncy developed a farm and truck garden, and 423 acres of mountainous woodlands in beautiful Lycoming County.<sup>30</sup>

The program at Muncy, in those times, was a suitably domestic one for women stressing homemaking and basic education.

Miss Franklin Rebecca Wilson from Kansas, for whom Muncy's Wilson hospital is named, served as superintendent from May, 1929, to June, 1949. She was succeeded by Mrs. Celia K. Wolfe who remained at Muncy until 1960,31 Since that time, Muncy has been directed by both women and men superintendents, and its program has expanded to take in nontraditional courses, such as furniture repair and truck driving.

At the time the State Industrial Home for Women was being opened, other changes in the state correctional system became imminent.

#### The Early 20th Century: A Difficult Time

In 1917, a commission had been appointed by Governor Martin Brumbaugh to study the prison system and make recommendations. Among their recommendations were the establishment of four state industrial farms and the recommendation for agricultural labor by county jail inmates. They wanted minimum sentences not to exceed one third the maximum sentence imposed. These recommendations were not immediately acted upon and were soon lost in the welter of prison developments which followed.

After the end of World War I, by 1920, the state correction system consisted of:

The Eastern Penitentiary at Philadelphia;

The Western Penitentiary at Pittsburgh;

The New Central Penitentiary at Bellefonte (Rockview);

The State Industrial Reformatory at Huntingdon:

The State Industrial Home for Women at Muncy.

These institutions were governed by boards of trustees, grouped together loosely under the State Board of Public Charities, which was formed in 1869.

In 1923, Eastern Penitentiary was 94 years old and by that time thousands of men had passed through its oaken and iron doors to doom, destiny, or freedom.

Warden Robert J. McKenty was titular head of the penitentiary, but in reality the "Four Horsemen" — not of Notre Dame, but of the convict population — were running the institution. Strange and shocking stories of anything for sale inside reached the ears of Governor Gifford Pinchot. An investigation was launched.

The bad situation had come about because of corrupt practices, bribes and graft. It was not difficult for the Four Horsemen, because of their prestige, to completely take over the institution. They were able to assign other inmates to housing areas and work assignments.

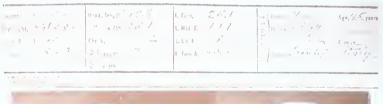
Female prisoners, then held in #2 block were being rented out for sexual purposes. A great number of staff had become involved. The number of crimes committed inside among inmates resulted in a riot.

Anonymous Charges Alleged to Tell Side of the Four Horsemen.

AIMED TO END DOPE EVIL

Thieving, Bootlegging and Cuttings Alleged to Run Riot in Eastern Penitentiary.

Headlines of the day reflect scandal at Eastern.





Early inmate photo identification card. Note the use of Bertillon measurements which predated fingerprints.

# MAD ORGY OF DOPE I

# BRIBED GUARDS JURORS REPORT

Thousands Made Drug Addicts, as Smuggling Grows So Fast That Prices Drop Three-fourths: One Block Was Known as Red Light Section; Special Feeding for Those Who Could Pay

Clean Sweep of Officials and Guards and New System Recommended After Probe of "Four Horsemen" Rule; Transfer of Women and Moving Institution to

A clean aweep of officials of the Enstern penitentiary, compléta reorgan-Ization of guards and overheers and of he rules, and a moral tipd physical dean up of the institution were recommended last night by the April grand Jury in its report to Judge Monaghan, in Quarter Sessions Court, rendered tricing month and a baw on a melion investigation, which brought to light the whole pentientiary scannel.

Probably never in the criminal blatory of this state have such revelations been made. The reports showed that:

#### Corruption and Vice Filinrish

- 1. Convicts made \$3,000 m year from traffic in drugs among prisoners.
- oners.

  2 A commercialized vice Fing ex-lated in the institution. Tumor-ality was winked at by gungle oud overseers. One block of cells was referred to by the prisoners as the "red light district."
- Ten ingit district."

  3. Corrupt guards and overseem, squinst twelve of whom positive evidence was obtained, charged \$10 an ounce "graft" for marcellings brought or admitted to the Institution, and eight dollars a quart for which;

  4. Factored council.
- 4 Encored convicts, represently members of the naturalist three

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cial plates were prepared daily noder this system.

"The bookmaking profession flourished at the peoitentiary and convicts with aporting inclinations could bet on their favorits horses,

tibe races.

"Crap games were conducted for stakes as high as \$600 in a single.

Complete Brought Laugh

Two hig wholesslers of the druce corned an intricate celling organization. throughout the pentleutiary One was described as the particular favorite of 1 , ...

#### Col. Groome: "Order Out of Chaos"

The following tribute to Colonel John C. Groome, quoted in "The Evolution of Penology", was given by the Secretary of Welfare Ellen Potter in her address of February, 1927:

When institutional conditions become unutterably bad, it is interesting to note how few people there are within a state who are ready to study the situation and to lend a hand in providing a remedy. I am, therefore, always impelled to take off my hat to Colonel John C. Groome who was willing and able to undertake to bring order out of chaos in the Eastern State Penitentiary, where conditions during the winter and early spring were deplorable.

With 'hootch' freely for sale . . . dope easily available . . . the women's section of the prison a brothel . . . the building itself infested with filth . . . there were no lower depths to which it could sink . . . While license and gross depravity were rampant at the Eastern end of the state, at the Central and Western penitentiaries there was to be found the hardbacked type of utter restraint with shackles, dungeons, 'solitary' and mental torture; with depravity and deterioration of men guite as marked as in the east.

In addition no industrial, recreational, educational, or spiritual program was underway in these institutions.

Needless to say, many months of careful study of the situation had to be made, experts such as Hastings, Hart and Whitman and later Arthur Dean were brought in . . . as a result we have today a group of prisons and reformatories whose administration is second to none in the United States . . .

More than 92 percent of the inmates are employed and are receiving compensation while those employed in the welfare shops are receiving trade training carefully organized and supervised as contrasted with the absolute unemployment of more than a third of the prison population in 1923.

After the Governor's investigation, Warden McKenty was fired, and Colonel John L. Groome was appointed superintendent charged with restoring order there. As Warden, Groome fired the staff wholesale and completely cleaned up the moral and physical mess in Eastern. One result of the scandal was the speedy removal of female offenders to Muncy.<sup>32</sup>

According to Joseph R. Brierley, the only man to serve as Warden at both Eastern and Western Penitentiaries, the stories of Eastern are memorable: In 1929, there was Al Capone; in the 1940's Willie Sutton and big Colson Valenti — who masterminded the Black Hand Arsenic-Murder for Insurance ring; and, in 1945, the "Great Escape."

Eastern was not the only prison to have problems. Western always had a hardened inmate population and

incidents of violence were not rare. In 1886, James Clarke stabbed Deputy Warden McKean and Deputy Groves. McKean's injuries were fatal.<sup>33</sup>

After the branch prison at Rockview was opened, Western Penitentiary sent its better class of offenders there and maintained the hardened and dangerous elements of the population in Pittsburgh.

By 1923, Pennsylvania had a Department of Welfare, under which all state prisons were grouped, and the Department had a most able head in the person of Doctor Ellen C. Potter, Secretary of Welfare. Among her goals were to strengthen local responsibility for social welfare, eliminate politics from administration, and place both welfare programs and prisons on a sound businesslike basis.





#### Deja Vu

Nowhere has the authentic feeling of what it was like to be an inmate at Eastern Penitentiary in the "old days" been captured better than in the words of Francis A. Murphy in a letter he wrote to Commissioner Marks on January 25, 1982. Excerpts are given here that recall the milieu of those times:

On my arrival by horse and enclosed wagon with red oil lanterns, we entered the front gate. This event is the most remembered of all my old memories. We entered into what appeared to be an underground dungeon, I mean it was dark with one 25 watt bulb used for illumination. The guards at that time all wore little hats that seemed too small, they had changed from the helmet type a little time before I arrived (like the old English Bobbies) and believe it or not 90% of the officers and guards had beards and long mustaches. Talk about time reverting itself, the same thing is happening now, but not quite as long as the beards and mustaches were then . . . .

I can recall the almost no talking in any line that you may be in — movies, chow hall or talking from cell to cell, that was a misconduct report. Before I forget, I know you have heard the closing of the Eastern Pen Gate many times, but in the days of my arrival I don't think they ever heard of grease, for when you are standing between the

gates upon your arrival and you hear that big door creak for ten seconds and close with a bang—brother, your heart does flip-flops and you know just exactly where you are at; you never forget that most all depressing sound—it resounds in your ears for weeks afterward, believe me, I tell you the truth . . .



"Everybody smokes 'Bull Durham' and the dust from the cigar shop . . ."  $\,$ 

In those days, Mr. Commissioner, everyone had a pet, those never to be forgotten big water roaches and the rats, birds, cats, mice and even Charlie Terry with his police dog in the cell that Judge McDevitt gave to him . . . We were so poor that if we were snakes we wouldn't have a pit to hiss in. Everybody smoked "Bull Durham" and the dust from the cigar shop we had there. I was a printer when I entered Eastern, so they gave me a job in the print shop, 10¢ a day to start, 5 days a week. And commissary once a month, where you could purchase tailormade cigarettes for \$1.08 a carton, so with the remainder of your \$2.50 you had a limited choice of soap, toothpaste, one kind of candy bar at 5 cents apiece and good old Bull Durham at 4 cents a bag. Now you spend \$20.00 at the commissary and you can get the same size bag you did when you spent your \$2.50, I'm exaggerating a little, but not much . . .

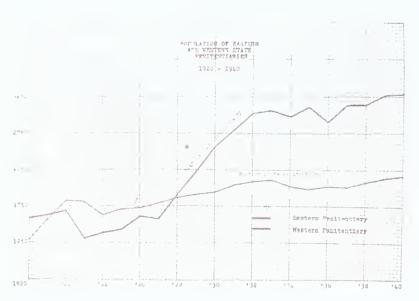
Who can forget that Philadelphia Inquirer cartoon, showing 45 policemen outside the front gate and 13 inmates coming up out of a hole on the corner of 21st street. People were calling in about the inmates escaping and more police arrived at the front gate, and the inmates were all gone. There were more holes in that penitentiary than 35 pounds of swiss cheese. In fact I know that you know that they were in line waiting to go down the hole. When they asked one fellow what he was doing in the line, he answered, "getting some hot water," and he didn't even have a bucket with him. Remember Willie Sutton and his carved head laying in bed and it had hair and ear phones, eyes closed and a blanket

made into a form to go along with the carved wooden head. He was counted present at least 6 times during the check to see who was missing. I think in those days you could almost walk out backward and they would think you were coming in, and not bother you. And I can remember the guy who was an alcoholic and Captain Martin found a bottle of booze and the alcoholic passed the Captain and the Captain called him and asked, "do you want to smell this bottle?" and the guy leaned over as if he were going to smell it, but he grabbed the bottle and ran and he was chased, but by the time they found him under his own bed the bottle was empty and he was full, and I mean full and sound asleep. The Captain said, "it was my own damn fault," and didn't write him up a misconduct . . .

There are so many pleasant memories of the Old Eastern, I just can't resolve my mind that it was a penitentiary — the guards were different in many ways; by the book, but fair and accurate in any reports or misconducts and so very different attitudes. The kids that enter Graterford today, really don't know what a penitentiary was like in the 30's and 40's. We didn't have counselors, your blockguard was your counselor and the block officer read your mail, and if he read anything that would disturb you he was the one who came to your cell and sat down and had a talk with you — and it was constructive and it did release some of the tensions of a man who is frustrated by not being able to do anything about his problem. BUT, they were men, real men — most of them. I did the first ten years with my door open all day and never lost a cigarette . . .



Photographers gather at Eastern's gate waiting for Al Capone.



Contributing to difficult conditions was a constant growth in inmate population prior to 1940.

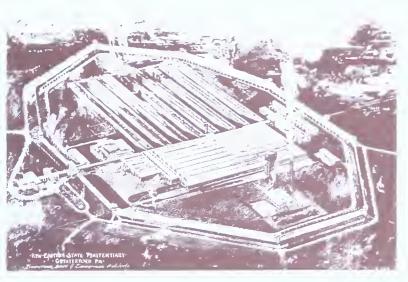
#### **Graterford: A Replacement for Eastern**

By all standards, Ellen Potter did an outstanding job both in the areas of welfare and penal reform. The legislature had a mission to perform as well. In 1925, a commission composed of Warden John Groome, Secretary Ellen Potter, the President of Eastern's Board of Trustees, the Speaker Pro Tempore of the Senate plus members, and the House Speaker with three house members began work "to investigate and to acquire a site in the eastern part of the Commonwealth of sufficient acreage with proper facilities and location for the erection thereon of the Eastern State Penitentiary."

In signing this act of May 14, 1925, Governor Pinchot said such a commission was not properly authorized but publicity would prevent politics from entering. "Pressing public necessity for proceeding as rapidly as possible to replace the antiquated and unsuitable structure at Cherry Hill" made its work necessary. The new institution was budgeted at one million dollars but the appropriation was postponed and \$300,000 was allocated to secure a site.<sup>34</sup> Later, the commission received authorization to continue its work through 1929.

A 2000 acre site in Skippack Township, of farmland in Montgomery County, was chosen and negotiations begun to procure it.

In 1926, following a tour of the proposed area by the prison site committee members, "residents of Skippack Township arose in arms to protest the move to erect the penitentiary in that vicinity. Land owners banded together in declaring that they would refuse to sell their properties." However, in less than a year, settlement was made with 37 different owners for the purchase of 1,714¾ acres. Two of the original owners were Graters: Elias T. Grater sold 99 acres to the State while his brother Edward sold 44 acres.



Architect's rendering of original 8 cellblock plan for SCI Graterford

Two granddaughters of Edward T. Grater now work as administrative secretaries in the Graterford institution.

The State's Department of Welfare took possession of the property on May 1, 1927, but the former owners were told that they might have until December 1 of that year to harvest the last of their crops from the purchased lands. Before the actual construction began, the land was described somewhat floridly as "a checkerboard of little farms with some stone farmhouses dating back more than a century, with groves of oak and hickory, some of which are of a reasonable age." It was thought that such a bucolic location would not only make the institution self-sufficient in terms of its food needs but would also "give a chance to train many of the convicts for farm life." 35

The commissioners soon selected the architectural firm of Zimmerman, Saxe and Zimmerman to design the Graterford institution. This Chicago-based firm was cited for its work in designing the Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet, called at the time "the most modern and complete institution in the world." In fact, according to a contemporary account, "at one time, the big jail at Joliet, Illinois, was adopted as a model but that was shelved after a visit by trustees of the penitentiary and experts connected with the State Welfare Department. Rather than a wheel-and-spoke configuration, a modified telegraph pole design was chosen for the New Eastern Penitentiary. Apparently, there was some speculation that the new institution "would dispense with the traditional armed outer wall" but the architects "deemed it unsafe to make so radical a departure."

The architects' drawings, as approved by Department of Welfare officials in January of 1928, called for the construction of 8 cellblocks running parallel to one another and attached to the main corridor at 75-foot intervals. "After considerable discussion, propositions for high structures were discarded and two-story structures were decided upon." This, it was felt, assured plenty of air and sunshine and ease of access by guards and prisoners. Each giant block was to be 692 feet long and hold 400 individuals with a total prison capacity of 3,200. However, only 2000 actual cells were built. Considered innovative were the separate dining areas for each cellblock, "thereby avoiding the dangerous concentration of the whole prison population in a common dining hall."

Even before the architects' drawings were finally approved, a work gang of 72 inmates under Deputy Warden Elmer Leithiser's supervision were brought to the site from Eastern to begin clearing the land in anticipation of the construction. Soon, 102 additional inmates were housed on



Graterford construction continues on November 15, 1937, some eight years after opening



Aerial view, the State Correctional Institution at Graterford, c. 1971.

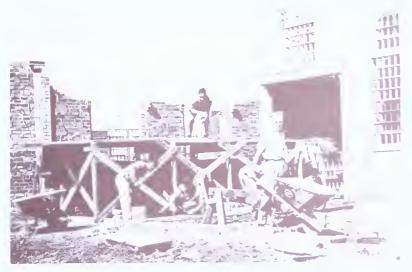
the site, with 50 others brought up from Eastern on a daily basis. Graterford opened in 1929, and in 1970, with the closure of Eastern Penitentiary became the correctional system's sole facility in southeastern Pennsylvania.

#### More Changes — White Hill

Correctional philosophies and programs continued to reflect a blend of change and the status quo. Parole and probation had become an established part of the criminal justice system by the time Graterford was built, and modified indeterminate sentencing was also becoming accepted. The age of specialization had arrived, and by the

mid 1930's Pennsylvania was considering developing an institution for defective delinquents. These would be boys and men who had committed criminal acts of varying degrees of seriousness but who could not appreciate all the wrongful aspects of their actions. These were mildly to severely retarded individuals as opposed to insane criminals who were now confined at Farview State Hospital, never a part of the prison system, which had opened for the criminally insane in 1912.

In 1931, a special five-person commission on penal institutions was set up during the administration of Governor Gifford Pinchot to make recommendations



Inmates participating in the construction of White Hill.

concerning the future of the State's correctional system. Their recommendations, most of which remained unacted upon, were very forward looking for that time or any other time.



Inmates marching in formation as they leave Huntingdon for the new institution at White Hill (Camp Hill), 1941.

The Commission recommended improvements in correctional industries including a stronger state use



Inmates entrained for White Hill, with Superintendent John D. Pennington, left center.

system, improvements in classification, inmate educational and medical services, and a better system of post-release supervision. They also recommended the establishment of a Department of Corrections.<sup>37</sup>

The decision was made to build a new institution for young male offenders and convert the Industrial Reformatory at Huntingdon into a facility for defective delinquents. The site chosen for the new institution in Lower Allen Township in Cumberland County was once a state fair site and at one time had been intended for use as a site for a hospital for inebriates.<sup>38</sup>

The Pennsylvania Industrial School at White Hill, called the State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill today, was authorized in 1937. Three million, five hundred thousand dollars had been spent for its construction by 1941.

On March 1, 1940, Major Henry C. Hill, a onetime federal special agent under President Theodore Roosevelt and later Warden of the Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary, became superintendent charged with completing the work begun by the Department of Welfare.

By Spring of 1941, the main buildings were completed and the school ready for operation. The first group of 75 inmates arrived from Huntingdon by train on March 20, having marched in formation from their old institution to the railroad depot.<sup>39</sup>



Inspection upon arrival at the White Hill institution

The new White Hill institution consisted of 519 acres, with 90 buildings and 380 of the acres allocated to farming. At this time, the capacity of the new institution was 1400 and that of Huntingdon, 1,199. The law that governed sentencing to White Hill provided for indeterminate minimum sentences; also, juveniles over age 13 were eligible for commitment.

The overall correctional population was almost 6000 on the brink of World War II. During the war, many youths incarcerated at White Hill were paroled on the basis of good conduct to join the military service. By the end of 1941, at least 50 inmates had been released for military duty. At this time, White Hill had 140 custodial officers earning salaries of \$1,560 annually each.<sup>40</sup>



Induction group at White Hill armybound, 1942.

A description of White Hill during the 1940's reveals that more than one-half the commitments were for truancy and gang association. Inmates were housed in separate racial quarters. In addition to a basic education program in which all inmates under 18 were enrolled, the institution had a good sized farm which raised swine and poultry as well as having a dairy and truck garden. White Hill's industries were furniture, coffee, and tea making.

The concept of the self supporting institution flourished throughout the penal and mental health system at this time.

All of the youthful offenders were not completely transferred from Huntingdon to White Hill until 1945, at which time Huntingdon became the state institution for defective delinquents. Shortly thereafter, White Hill opened forestry camps which, at that time, were called Correction Conservation Camps.

The program at White Hill, as it had been and continued to be at Huntingdon, was a very regulated one. Hard work, wholesome activity, and attainment of a basic education were stressed. The institution had a band, glee club, school court and regular paramilitary drills. Inmates were expected to earn their way toward release by attaining second and then first classmanship.



Correctional conservation camp (forestry) at Pinchot State Park.



The institution at Huntingdon held regular paramilitary drills.



White Hill's program was similar in many ways to Huntingdon's.

#### The War Years

In 1941-42, the prison industries in the correctional system were printing and weaving at Eastern, the clothing, hosiery and underwear plant along with the shoe plant at Graterford (then called the New Eastern State Prison). At Western, work consisted of the metal factory, automobile tag shop, auto repair, clothing and weaving. The New Western Penitentiary at Rockview concentrated on farming, forestry, canning, and garden crops.

Huntingdon had the furniture factory and White Hill, as mentioned previously, had jobs and training in several trades. Muncy's mainline of work was sewing and garment making. Yearly sales from correctional products, not including farm products, amounted to \$1,402,253.75.

The state prison's population had dropped during the war, but wise heads anticipated that it would rise to about 7,000 at the war's end. To prepare for this and to make further improvements in the correctional system, Governor Edward Martin in 1944 appointed the Ashe Commission, formally designated as the Governor's Committee on Penal and Correctional Affairs of the Commonwealth. Stanley P. Ashe, named Chairman, was the Warden of Western State Penitentiary.

The gist of their recommendations was to organize corrections on a statewide basis with a classification program based on custody levels and programs. They recommended one single classification center which was to be at White Hill, with a capacity of 500 cells geared for maximum security. They planned the 900 remaining cells at White Hill to be used as a minimum security prison. Eastern State Penitentiary was again called "no longer fit for human habitation" and deemed to be closed. Western State Penitentiary was to remain open temporarily, but later on to be closed because it was located in "a dirty industrial district." Rockview was to be used as a minimum security prison, and Graterford as a medium security prison. Huntingdon was to be converted to a medium security adult prison, and a new facility in a rural area to be built for defective delinguents "who need a simple farm program." One new medium security prison was to be built in Western Pennsylvania.

All in all, their recommendations called for setting the state's prison capacity at a population figure of 7,000 and to committing \$18 million to new prison construction. They also recommended that there should be a Commissioner of Correction.<sup>41</sup>

Some of the Ashe recommendations did come to pass but then only after an interval of years. One rationale for the legislature's failure to move on this program was that the state's mental hospitals were in worse condition and the state decided to put the money there.

Thus, the correctional system came to the era of the fifties, with much needing to be done. It took the riots at Pittsburgh and Rockview to move the Commonwealth to action.

After the Bureau of Correction was established in 1953, it set forth on an ambitious agenda which Commissioner Prasse and his successors diligently brought to fruition. However, the challenges that the Bureau of Correction faces today are every bit as great as those in 1953.



Inmates repairing roof at Huntingdon, c. 1945.



Work and learning were long a part of Huntingdon's ethic



#### LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

July 1, 1944

HONORABLE S. M. R. O'HARA, Secretary of Welfare, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

DEAR MISS O'HARA,

Governor Martin appointed a Committee to submit to you a study of the penal and correctional system of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. We are herewith submitting our completed report. In his letter of appointment, the Governor stated that he would like to have for the Commonwealth the best penal and correctional system in the United States. It is the Committee's unanimous opinion that if the recommendations of this report are adopted, he will have just what he asked for.

For many years nothing constructive either as to building or housing has been done within the Commonwealth. We feel that our recommendations are adequate in both of these fields.

A number of the institutions for which we are asking will not be expensive to construct. Others will be rather costly. No one knows at this time what post-war construction costs will be, and there has not been sufficient time for us to gather even the figures on present construction costs. Everything that we have recommended, however, should very easily come within the sum of 18 million dollars. This seems like an enormous sum of money, but when you consider that the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has to start practically from scratch if it is going to surpass, or even catch up with a number of States in the Union, it is not out of line. We regret that we can not be more definte as to cost, but this would require much more time than we have had.

If this Committee or any of its members can be of further service, we stand on your order.

Respectfully submitted,

H. C. HILL, WHILIAM S. HVFNGOOD, JR., HFRBERT SMITH, ROBERT F. WOODSIDE, S. P. ASHE,

Chairman

iii

The wartime committee, headed by Stanley P. Ashe, left, made progressive recommendations.





Planting a Victory Garden at Huntingdon during World War II.

#### Part III: The Bureau Today and Tomorrow

When Ronald J. Marks became Commissioner of Correction on June 12, 1980, the Bureau of Correction was facing unprecedented growth and challenge.

Marks had spent a lifetime in corrections since first becoming a guard at Eastern State Penitentiary in 1954. He brought to the job both widespread experience and a strong conviction that certain areas of correction needed renewed emphasis and upgrading.

In the past three years, improvements have been made in education, vocational training, job placement — and in the critical area of medical services. Plans are underway for the establishment of short term psychiatric units in all major Bureau institutions.

Revisions have been introduced in employe training and in inmate treatment programs. The inmate grievance procedure, first introduced by Commissioner Robinson, has been updated and expanded.

A newly revised classification procedure went into effect at all Bureau diagnostic and classification centers in 1983. The approach now used includes the application of objective criteria. It takes into account both the offender's security risk in the institution and the level of security risk for his or her return to the community. All other relevant

Community Service Center #3, Philadelphia.

information, ranging from criminal history and background to each offender's problems, skills and abilities, is also a factor in this assessment.

Observation of the Bureau of Correction today will bear out the fact that Pennsylvania's correctional system is dedicated to equal but individual treatment of each offender. This approach has always been a part of corrections in Pennsylvania, and is considered just as valid today as it was by the founding fathers of Eastern Penitentiary.

Much else has changed. Inmates today are not unendingly confined to their cells, nor do they live and work in isolation. They hold more than fifty kinds of jobs in correctional industries, and have access to more than thirty trade and training opportunities. They also have access to resources in the community.

#### **Community Corrections**

The Bureau's Division of Community Services, established in 1968 under the authority of Act 173, operates fifteen community service centers throughout the Commonwealth. All center residents have met pre-release criteria. They live and work in the community, and pay a part of their earnings as rent and in taxes.

Today, there are three community services regions governed by regional directors. Within these regions, there are five centers located in Philadelphia; three in Pittsburgh; and one apiece located in Harrisburg, York, Scranton, Allentown, Johnstown, Erie and Sharon. In the past year, there were 807 referrals for community service center placement. Since 1970, the Bureau has had a successful work release and home furlough program.

A program to which Commissioner Marks has given new emphasis is job training and job placement. The majority of job training programs are now certified through



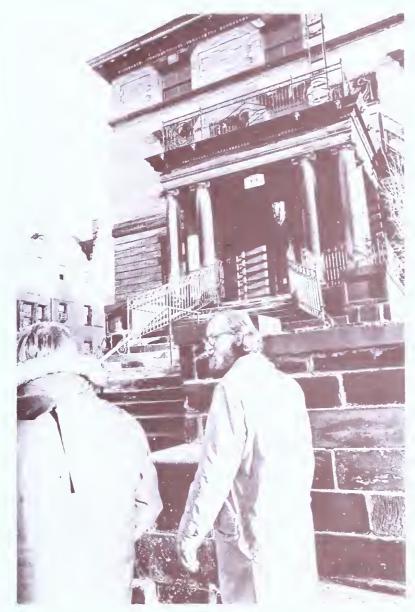
First Lady Ginny Thornburgh congratulates Camp Hill graduate upon attainment of high school diploma.



"Inmates are not unendingly confined to their cells."

Recreation and correctional industries are just two of many activities.





Community services provides a structured release from incarceration.

the Department of Labor and Industry, permitting journeyman certification upon course completion.

Both outside job placement counselors and mental health coordinators have been established at the Bureau's major institutions and at Muncy. The regional facilities at Greensburg and Mercer are able to fully utilize community agencies in these areas.

The goals of the Bureau of Correction as it completes its first thirty years have not so much been changed as strengthened. The overall goal remains: "to protect society through the secure and humane confinement of offenders lawfully committed to the Bureau of Correction."<sup>2</sup>

Other goals include promoting law abiding behavior through opportunities for constructive change; the employment of supervision that is both effective and humane, the operation of institutions and programs with economy and efficiency, and the employment and training of the best and most professional staff possible. From these goals priorities have evolved:

Secure and safe housing;

- Good medical and psychiatric care;
- Staff training, recruitment and development;
- Employment and vocational training for inmates;
- Adequate religious and recreational opportunities;
- Community involvement at all levels and in the most appropriate ways;
- Assistance to local corrections;
- Improved research and planning capabilities, and
- Intercooperation with other agencies and private groups.<sup>3</sup>

The goals are lofty, and yet realistic if one recognizes that 80 percent of all inmates are paroled. A true correctional system cannot be content to warehouse inmates, no matter how humanely. Sustained efforts have to be made to provide opportunities for self help, and for gaining a threshold on becoming a law-abiding and successful member of society.

That is why now, more than ever, Pennsylvania's correctional system faces a great hurdle and challenge.



Annual inmate runathon for charity.

#### **Hurdles Ahead**

The system, even with the new regional facilities at Greensburg and Mercer, was designed to accommodate 8,000 inmates. As we enter 1983, the offender population level has risen to over 10,500, and may continue to increase at a rate of 15 percent a year or higher. Likewise, Pennsylvania's county prisons are crowded as never before.

In 1982, the General Assembly enacted mandatory sentencing legislation, as well as approving jail terms for automobile violations for driving while intoxicated. Statewide sentencing guidelines were also approved. While equalizing sentences for the same offense statewide, these



Dormitory installed at SCRF Mercer to deal with overcrowding

also assure that certain offenses (which previously did not) will now require imprisonment.

The trend toward longer and more frequent prison terms is nationwide and has been in effect for about five years. Even before Pennsylvania took legislative action, the trend toward "tougher justice" was being felt in state and county corrections.

During fiscal year 1981-82, the Bureau's population rose by 1,302 inmates or 14.7 percent. At the end of 1982, the Bureau of Correction was double-celling more than 2,000 inmates,<sup>5</sup> a policy which cuts against the grain of the state's correctional policies. In the past individual institutions have had to double-cell on occasion, but not until now has double-celling been employed systemwide.

The evils of overcrowding can undermine any correctional system. Overcrowding acts to break down our laws, not build them up. It magnifies every problem within the close confines of institutional life. It means weakened security, increased assaults on both staff and inmates. Its auguries are suicides and mental disorders. It strains health



Governor Dick Thornburgh announces plans for a new institution to be built at Frackville.

#### Institutions of the Bureau of Correction 1983

The State Correctional Institution at Pittsburgh
The State Correctional Institution at Huntingdon
The State Correctional Institution at Rockview
The State Correctional Institution at Muncy
The State Correctional Institution at Graterford
The State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill
The State Correctional Institution at Dallas
The State Regional Correctional Facility at Greensburg
The State Regional Correctional Facility at Mercer



Plans for temporary modular housing to help meet the population crisis were developed in 1981.

and medical conditions. Disease, disorder, idleness and violence are the results of overpopulation.<sup>6</sup>

In addition, the ability to program inmates effectively is weakened. The goal of recognizing and treating each person as an individual with individual needs cannot be met. Instead of where and which institution does this person best in, the question becomes where is there a bed?

Under the weight of these conditions, the Bureau has taken practical action. Approximately 300 cells have been added through the conversion of existing storage and ancillary areas. Temporary modular housing has been installed at Mercer, Greensburg, Huntingdon, Camp Hill, Rockview and Dallas providing 476 additional beds.

Under the leadership of the Thornburgh administration, in 1982, the General Assembly approved new construction which, when completed, will amount to 2,880 new cells. This is the most ambitious building program undertaken in Pennsylvania's 200 year prison history, since the Walnut Street Jail was expanded after the Revolutionary War.

Plans, currently underway, include new facilities at Graterford, part of which will house a new diagnostic and

classification center and a mental health unit; a new separate 500 man capacity facility at Huntingdon, the conversion of Cresson State Center into a 500 man capacity correctional facility; two additional cellblocks at Dallas with 100 cells each; 150 new cells at Greensburg and a 180 new cell unit at Mercer. Retreat State Hospital will be converted into a 350 bed correctional facility; a new 500 man institution will be constructed at Frackville in Schuykill County, and the 101 year old institution at Pittsburgh will undergo total renovation.

Other improvements to the physical plants and property of state correctional institutions include the installation of a perimeter fence to enclose Muncy and a wholly renovated infirmary, with mental health unit, at Camp Hill.

#### **Perspectives**

It seems a long time since the iron doors of Eastern Penitentiary first swung open with their diet of bread, syrup, potatoes and meat once a week. It is a long time, since inmates pursued their solitary endeavors on the loom or at the cobbler's bench. It is even a long time since the men and boys marched in formation at Huntingdon and Camp Hill. And, surely, it has been quite some years since domestic skills and homemaking were the only programs offered for women at Muncy.

No longer do the corridors of institutions ring with voices of Irish immigrants who furnished not only a large number of the inmates, but a goodly number of the wardens and keepers of a hundred years ago. Nor do the correctional walls hold the southern and eastern European immigrants as at the turn of the century.

Much has changed. The inmate population is much younger, with a heavy concentration of offenders in their late teens or early twenties. They are divided evenly between Blacks and Whites, but women still compose less than 4 percent of state offenders. Today's inmates have a different view of prison than the hardened, but in their own way self-respecting, cons of old Eastern. Today's inmates have rights and they know about them. Their rights have been upheld vigorously by courts in the past two decades, and are respected in all correctional institutions.

Today in prison, administrators do not use the treadmill or solitary confinement. Food and menus are planned in every particular to meet the standards of the American Dietetic Association. Special diets, called therapeutic diets, are provided for inmates upon doctor's orders, and health care is provided by a team of doctors and through community hospitals. Cells are not restricted to containing the Bible and pious pamphlets left by the moral instructor, but are more likely to have Playboy and Popular Mechanics along with televisions and radios. Classes are no longer limited to moral lectures, but include such diverse subjects as dentistry, auto mechanics, photography, and the cultural contributions of minorities.

Corrections, like society, has changed and mostly for the better. As Commissioner Marks is fond of saying —



Meals meet every standard of the American Dietetic Association



All institutions work from a master menu.



Staff training is an ongoing part of corrections.

thirty years ago when the Bureau was being established corrections was a closed system. Most prisons including some in Pennsylvania were operated like feudal domains, and the warden was lord of the manor.

The story is even told how Major Hill, when arriving to take over the then under-construction institution at Camp Hill, didn't think the house being built for him was grand



Superintendent Thomas Fulcomer holds Greensburg's Accreditation Award.

enough So he ordered a second home, really a young estate nearby, to be remodeled complete with stables, fish pond, and the finest furniture.<sup>8</sup>

This house later became home to the first Commissioner of Correction Arthur Prasse. Today, at the decision of Commissioner Marks, it is being used for training and staff development.

Commissioner Marks and his predecessors, and also many correctional oldtimers interviewed preparatory to writing this history, will tell you corrections is no longer a closed system. With each decade the Bureau and its institutions have become more open to community and citizen involvement. Decades ago, there were no outside standards to be met. Today, we are meeting the most rigorous standards of all through the process of accreditation.

Accreditation means that each institution is measured against 495 separate standards developed by the national Commission on Accreditation for Corrections. These professionally set standards cover all areas of correctional management and operation. these must be achieved, maintained and documented. It is no easy task, especially for a state like Pennsylvania facing the tremendous difficulties of overcrowding and the need for new institutions.

Yet, the Bureau is well underway in this ongoing process. The State Regional Correctional Facility at Greensburg in 1982 became the first state institution in the nation to be accredited under the new standards. The remaining institutions are being readied for the Commission's audit.

Yes, in many, many ways the correctional system has changed over the years. Furloughs, contact visits, inmates earning college degrees — these and so much more were unheard of not so many years ago. Yet in another very real way corrections — penology — is not so different than it

was in the days of John Michael Cassidy, the warden a century ago at old Eastern.

Society and penologists are still looking for the answer to how best rehabilitate another human being. Even today, the classic argument goes on between the rise of prisons for punishment and incapacitation, and their use as a possible means of growth and constructive change.

Fifty years ago, a Department of Corrections was recommended for Pennsylvania; and, as of this writing, we are still waiting to become one. Since 1980, the Bureau of Correction, no longer a part of the Justice Department, has operated as a part of the Governor's Office under the authority of the General Counsel. Lack of staff, insufficient facilities and money have always marked prisons as the last concern of society. That has only changed moderately today. Only the initiative of farsighted governors and commissioners, from time to time, has enabled the progress achieved by the Bureau during its years of existence.

During their separate tenures, Commissioner Marks, Commissioner Robinson, Commissioner Werner, Commissioner Sielaff and Commissioner Prasse have given varied emphasis to different aspects of corrections. Each man has had slightly different views, and each has acted according to his own experience, strengths, and perception. All of them, past and present, served with loyalty, dedication and integrity.

As for tomorrow, it is expected that corrections will grow in size of its inmate populations through the 1980's. It is probable that this trend will continue in the 1990's with some slowdown or reduction in population by the year 2000. But, this is a projection based on demographics; the actual future is harder to predict.

The Bureau of Correction has confidence, however, that whatever the challenges or problems that lie ahead, they will be faced with courage, conviction, and a strong sense of response to society's needs.



Open visiting is part of humanizing institutional lite.



# 

Commander John D. Pennington

#### **Pennington: The Effective Superintendent**

Commander John D. Pennington, a former Pennsylvania Secretary of Welfare, was superintendent of the institution at Huntingdon from 1936 to March 31, 1959. He also helped to build the institution at Camp Hill. In his farewell address he made some valid comments on the role of the superintendent:

Born of my experience, I know the head of an institution has an inescapable burden of responsibility which he, and he alone, must bear. Certainly, an administrator, if he is to be successful, must be ready and able to accept that his is a twenty-four hour day job. He must put the good of the institution and the welfare of the population first, and above every other consideration, be it personal or otherwise. The superintendent, too, must be able to forever withstand any and all pressures, and he will experience many of them, which constitute a threat to sound, efficient management and operation. I say, also, that the competent superintendent or warden must demonstrate leadership which will attract and hold the loyalty and best endeavor of qualified, devoted

men who can and will give unstintingly of themselves to the task to which we are dedicated — the rehabilitation of the offender. Of the many other personal qualities of an effective superintendent, the only one I shall mention, and one I considered of the utmost importance, is that the superintendent must be able to say "no" convincingly as the occasion requires.

A prison population is an aggregate of people who must be treated as individuals with respect to treatment and training. The most important contribution the superintendent personally can make to this principle, I believe, is a sympathetic concern for the problems of others and a sincere desire to help with their solution. By a sympathetic interest or concern for others, I mean someone who really cares about them and their welfare, rather than coddling and indulgence, devoid of balance or control.

Many people have served the citizens of Pennsylvania through its correctional system in the past — more will do so in the future.

Some have even given their lives.

There are no exact records of how many men have given their lives in the line of duty in the distant past. What we know, to the best of our ability, are the names of those employes who have been killed in the line of duty since 1953. Their names are listed here, along with the names of all superintendents and wardens of the state correctional system who have had the honor to serve Pennsylvania.

#### Killed In the Line of Duty 1953 — 1983

Charles Robert Elder SCI Huntingdon

Clifford J. Grogan SCI Pittsburgh

Steven P. Ary, Sr. SCI Graterford

Walter L. Peterson SCI Pittsburgh

Edward R. Boyer SCI Graterford

Felix Mokychic SCI Graterford Died: August 9, 1954 Corrections Officer I

Died: November 12, 1965 Corrections Officer I

Died: September 16, 1973 Corrections Food Service Instructor

Died: December 10, 1973 Corrections Officer III, promoted to C.O. IV retroactively to date of death.

Died: June 5, 1977 Corrections Food Service Instructor

Died: March 20, 1979 Corrections Officer IV

## Wardens and Superintendents of the State Correctional System 1826-1983

# The State Correctional Institution at Philadelphia (Old Eastern)

Samuel R. Wood	1829 - 1840
George Thompson	1840 - 1845
Thomas Scattergood	1845 - 1850
John Halloway	1850 - 1854
Nimrod Strickland	1854 - 1856
John Halloway	1856 - 1870
Edward Townsend	1870 - 1881
J. Michael Cassidy	1881 - 1900
Daniel W. Bussinger	1900 - 1904
Joseph Byers	1904 - 1905
Charles Church	1905 - 1908
Robert J. McKenty	1909 - 1923
John C. Groome	1923 - 1928
Herbert Smith	1928 - 1945
Cornelius J. Burke	1945 - 1953
Walter Tees	1953 - 1955
Frank G. Martin	1955 - 1956
William J. Banmiller	1956 - 1961
Alfred T. Rundle	1962 - 1966
Joseph R. Brierley	1966 - 1968
Joseph F. Mazurkiewicz	1968 - 1970

# The State Correctional Institution at Pittsburgh (Western Penitentiary)

John Hannen	1826 - 1829
John Patterson	1830 - 1836
Armstead Beckman	1836 - ?
Edward S. Wright	1869 - 1901
William McC. Johnson	1901 - 1909
John Francies	1910 - 1923
Stanley Ashe	1924 - 1949
John D. Claudy	1950 - 1953
James F. Maroney (Acting)	1953 - 1955
Frank C. Johnston	1955 - 1956
Angelo C. Cavell	1956 - 1959
James F. Maroney	1959 - 1968
Joseph R. Brierley	1968 - 1973
William Jennings (Acting)	1973 - 1973
Gilbert Walters	1973 - 1974
James F. Howard	1974 - 1980
George Petsock	1980 - Present

## The State Correctional Institution at Huntingdon (The Pennsylvania Industrial Reformatory)

R. W. Mc'Claughry	1889 - 1891
T. B. Patton	1891 - 1922
James W. Herron	1922 - 1931
John R. Cranor	1932 - 1936
John D. Pennington	1936 - 1959
Harry E. Russell	1959 - 1970
Eugene Powell	1970 - 1971
Erskind DeRamus	1971 - 1973
Lowell D. Hewitt	1974 - 1979
Ronald J. Marks	1979 - 1980
Charles H. Zimmerman	1980 - Present

#### The State Correctional Institution at Rockview

James W. Herron	1912 - 1923
Jesse O. Stutsman	1923 - 1927
George Allen	1928 - 1932
John W. Claudy	1932 - 1950
Theodore H. Reiber	1950 - 1950
Myron M. Cobb (Acting)	1950 - 1953
Frederick S. Baldi	1953 - 1956
Frank C. Johnston	1956 - 1959
Angelo C. Cavell	1959 - 1970
Joseph F. Mazurkiewicz	1970 - Present

# The State Correctional Institution at Muncy (Pennsylvania Industrial Home for Women)

Amy Everall	1920 - 1920
Margaret H. Bynon	1920 - 1920
Anna Cheyney (Acting)	1920 - 1921
Mary McCurdy	1921 - 1921
Franklin Rebecca Wilson	1921 - 1949
Celia K. Gray Wolfe	1949 - 1960
Charlotte C. Cummings	1961 - 1971
James P. Murphy	1971 - 1974
Bernard T. Malone	1974 - 1976
Richard D. Kelly (Acting)	1976 - 1976
Gerald L. Lightcap	1976 - 1978
Albert T. Mallory	1979 - 1979
Lowell D. Hewitt	1979 - 1980
Carolyn E. Hill (Acting)	1980 - 1980
Ann M. Goolsby	1980 - Present

#### The State Correctional Institution at Graterford

Elmer Leithiser	1924 - 1944
Cornelius J. Burke	1944 - 1945
John Brownlee	1945 - 1947
Charles G. Day	1947 - 1955
David N. Myers	1956 - 1966
Alfred T. Rundle	1966 - 1970
Erskind DeRamus (Acting)	1970 - 1970
Robert L. Johnson	1970 - 1973
Ronald J. Marks (Acting)	1973 - 1974
Julius T. Cuyler	1974 - 1983
Glen R. Jeffes	1983 - Present

# The State Correctional Institution at Camp Hill (Pennsylvania Industrial School at White Hill)

Henry C. Hill	1940 - 1943
Eugene Keller	1943 - 1950
Arthur T. Prasse	1950 - 1967
David P. Snare	1967 - 1968
Ernest S. Patton	1968 - Present

#### The State Correctional Institution at Dallas

Frank C. Johnston	1960 - 1971
Leonard J. Mack	1971 - 1973
Glen R. Jeffes	1973 - 1983
Joseph M. Ryan (Acting)	1983 - Present

#### The State Regional Correctional Facility at Greensburg

Michael J. Calizzi	1969 - 1969
(Associate Superintendent)	
Fred Brown	1969 - 1969
(Associate Superintendent)	
Fred Brown	1970 - 1972
Harry E. Smith (Acting)	1972 - 1973
Thomas A. Fulcomer	1973 - Present

#### The State Regional Correctional Facility at Mercer

Charles H.	Zimmerman	1978 -	1980
Robert M.	Freeman	1980 -	Present

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- 2. Report of the Committee to Survey The Penal And Correctional System of The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Stanley P. Ashe, Chr. (Harrisburg, Pa., 1944) pp. ix xi.
  - 3. The Pittsburgh Press, January 19, 1953, pp. 1-2.
  - 4. Ibid., January 20, 1953, pp. 1-2.
  - 5. Ibid.
  - 6. Ibid., June 4, 1953, pp. 1-2.
  - 7. The Devers Committee, pp. 3-16.
  - 8. Ibid., p. 9.
  - 9. Ibid., p. 12.
  - 10. The Pittsburgh Press, August 27, 1953.
  - 11. Interview with Mr. William Berg, BC Ret., December 3, 1982.
- 12. Department of Justice, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: Bureau of Correction Report (Camp Hill, Pa., 1954) p. 5.
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  - 14. 1954 Bureau of Correction Report, p. 17.
  - 15. Ibid.
  - 16. The Dallas Post, October 1, 1959, p. 1.
  - 17. Institutional Records, SCI Dallas.
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  - 19. The Pennsylvania Bureau of Correction, Annual Report, 1975, p. 3.
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- 21. The Pennsylvania Bureau of Correction, 1976 Annual Report (SCI Huntingdon Press) pp. 5-6.

- 22. lbid., p. 1.
- 23. lbid., p. 23.
- 24. The Pennsylvania Bureau of Correction, 1977 Annual Report (SCI Huntingdon Press) p. 24.
- 25. The Pennsylvania Bureau of Correction, 1978 Annual Report (SCI Huntingdon Press) p. 1.
- 26. The Pennsylvania Bureau of Correction, 1979 Annual Report (SCI Huntingdon Press) pp. 8-16.
  - 27. <u>Ibid.</u>

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  - 2. lbid., p. 88.
  - 3. lbid.
- 4. Harry Elmer Barnes, <u>The Evolution of Penology in Pennsylvania</u> (Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1968 reprint) pp. 37-42.
  - 5. lbid.
  - 6. lbid., pp. 35-50.
- 7. United States Bureau of Prisons, <u>Handbook of Correctional Institution Design</u> and Construction (Washington, D.C., 1948) p. 23.
  - 8. "Public Executions", p. 89.
- 9. Eugene E. Doll, "Trial and Error at Allegheny: The Western Penitentiary 1818 1838", The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. LXXXI, No. 1 (January 1, 1957) p. 5.
  - 10. lbid., pp 19-20.
- 11. LeRoy B. DePuy, "The Triumph of the 'Pennsylvania System' at the State's Penitentiaries", Pennsylvania History Quarterly Journal of the Pennsylvania Historical Association, Vol. XXI, No. 2 (April, 1954) pp. 9-10.
  - 12. The Democratic Press, March 11, 1823, Philadelphia, Pa., p.1.
  - 13. "The Triumph", p. 19.

- 14. The Evolution of Penology, pp. 162-176.
- 15. Ibid., pp. 211-214.
- 16. Ibid., pp. 259-265.
- 17. Report of the Building Commissioners (Huntingdon, Pa., 1883) pp. 3-5.
- 18. The Cincinnati Enquirer, December 7, 1884.
- 19. The First Biennial Report of the Pennsylvania Industrial Reformatory 1889-1890 (Harrisburg Publishing Company, Harrisburg, Pa., 1891) p. 20.
  - 20. Report of the Building Commissioners, pp. 7-8.
- 21. <u>Handbook of American Prisons and Reformatories</u>, ed. Paul W. Garrett and Austin H. MacCormick, National Society of Penal Information, Inc. (New York) p. 817.
  - 22. First Biennial Report, p. 7.
- 23. <u>Biennial Report of the State Industrial Reformatory 1891-92</u> (Huntingdon, Pa., 1893) p. 9.
  - 24. Sixth Biennial Report, 1899-1900 (Huntingdon, Pa., 1901) pp. 20-21.
- 25. <u>Historic Buildings of Centre County, Pennsylvania</u>. coord. George Ramsey (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980) pp. 159-160.
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  - 31. Priscella Frye, Records of the State Correctional Institution at Muncy.
  - 32. Conversation with Joseph Brierley, Bureau of Correction, 1976.
  - 33. The New York Times, February 5, 1886.
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- 35. Records of the Montgomery County Historical Society and institutional data, supplied by John Manon, staff, SCI Graterford, 1983.

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  - 40. Personal Records of Robert Cornman, SCI Camp Hill, Ret.
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- 2. Pennsylvania Bureau of Correction, <u>Administrative Manual</u>, Volume I, Introduction (Camp Hill, Pa., 1982) p. 5.
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  - 4. Pennsylvania Bureau of Correction, statistical population record, n.p.
  - 5. Annual Report 1982, p. 13.
- 6. Kevin Krajik and Steve Gettinger, <u>Overcrowded Time: Why Prisons Are So</u> Crowded and What Can Be Done (The Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, 1982) pp. 10-11.
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